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THE MUSEUM OF MEDITERRANEAN AND NEAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES

MEDELHAVSMUSEET

BULLETIN 20

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The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities
MEDELHAVSMUSEET

Fredsgatan 2, Stockholm
Postal address: Box 5405, S-114 84 Stockholm, Sweden

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Published with the aid of a grant from Humanistisk-Samhällsvetenskapliga Forskningsrådet
Distribution office: Medelhavsmuseet. Box 5405, S-114 84 Stockholm, Sweden
Edited by Bengt Peterson. Photos of Stockholm objects by Margareta Sjöblom
ISSN 0585-3214
Printed by Berlings, Arlöv 1985

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Finds from the Theteti Tomb at Saqqara

Bengt Peterson

Eure Schönheit atmet gelassen,
Ihre Heimat ist Ewigkeit.
Hesse

In the early 1920's Cecil M. Firth began excavations at Saqqara. He paid a special attention to the cemeteries around the Teti pyramid. Helped by Battiscombe Gunn with the inscriptional evidence, he published his results in the volumes *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I–II* (Cairo 1926). But several finds were never published. From the archives of the Griffith Institute in Oxford where Gunn's notes are kept, a third volume has been compiled and is scheduled to appear in 1986. The finds themselves, sculptures, reliefs, offering tables, false doors and all paraphernalia of Egyptian tombs were widely scattered. In many cases they were sold to museums all over the world. Thus the Medelhavsmuseet possesses some finds from those published by Firth and Gunn, acquired from the Egyptian Government in the early 1930's. Other objects were retained in the Saqqara reserves or transferred to the Cairo Museum, in both cases often without the necessary documentation. Through the activity of the Griffith Institute and its Keeper of the Archives Jaromir Malek, several of the finds have now been re-assembled in the new edition of the Topographical Bibliography.

Thus three wooden statuettes of the late Old Kingdom in the Medelhavsmuseet, acquired between 1931 and 1935 from the Egyptian Government, were joined to a tomb group comprising a false door, a lintel, a stone statue, 17 wooden statuettes and 7 servant statuettes and funerary models (*Topographical Bibliography III²:2*, pp. 566–567). This group belonged to a man called Theteti. His tomb was situated at the Teti pyramid but the actual location is unknown. The finds were sold to various museums. The only record of the group is to be found in Gunn's MSS in Oxford. They also contain photographs or sketches of the objects. Several of the statuettes in the Theteti group cannot be located today; their whereabouts are lost. But others could still turn up; thus the author of these lines found three further Theteti statuettes in the Cairo Museum which do not occur in the Gunn MSS. And an offering table hitherto not attributed to the group must be added. The present article is an attempt to give a documentation of the entire tomb group for the first time. It has a special interest because of the fact that it is one of the largest groups of finds from a single 6th Dynasty tomb known. The feature of 20 wooden statuettes gives an interesting opportunity to study the average output of the Saqqara necropolis workshops of the late 6th Dynasty.

A most interesting document related to the Theteti tomb has been found by Edward Brovarski in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. It is a typed copy of a letter from Firth which provides the information that the sculptures were placed in a recess in the wall of the shaft of Theteti's tomb:

I got a few good statuettes of a man called (hieroglyphs omitted) from a recess in the wall of shaft, one seated statuette about 39 cms. high and several of wood, also beer making and such scenes. I have had three or four of these recesses in the walls of the shafts. They seem to be an attempt to have a secure serdab which could not be the case in a small mud brick mastaba. The statuettes are of the end of the sixth dynasty or a bit later. I have the stela of (hieroglyphs omitted) as well but the burial chamber contained absolutely nothing having been broken into as many other burial chambers of the period and site by plunderers tunnelling from one tomb to another.

Who was Theteti? He was a man with many titles, some probably real, some honorary only. An enumeration of his titles shows that he had a hand in many different administrative offices: Sole Companion (*smr w'ty*), Director of Sealed Acts (*mr ḫrjw sḏ3wt*), Director of Fields (*mr 3ḫt*), King's Personal Registrar (*sš*

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nswt ḫft ḥr), Chief Scribe of Sealed Acts (*mr sš ḥrjw sḏ3wt*), Seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt (*sḏ3w bjty*), Director of the Double Granaries (*mr šnwty*), Director of the Master of Largess's Office (*mr pr ḥry wḏb*), Director of the Working Office (*mr pr šn*). There is one further title which only partially is readable: Director of *ḫn* . . . (?), and another one which may be a priestly title but which is very damaged. The fine titles do not mean that this man had the most important functions in the royal administration. However, he had the opportunity and means to get a tomb in the presence of a royal pyramid in the country's most cherished necropolis. We must assume that he lived later than Teti. Thus his choice of tomb location shows that he did not have the chance to get his tomb at the traditionally most important location, the contemporary king's pyramid.

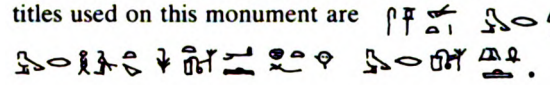
The date of Theteti could be established by means of comparison of his stone statue with other dated documents. Edward Brovarski has most kindly given information on the date of the stone statue. In his still unpublished dissertation on Naga-ed-Dêr, he has found that its date must be the Pepi II reign or a little bit later. Also the type of the false door and a special feature, the straight lines of longer locks on the crown of the short wig worn by Theteti in some statuettes, point to the late 6th Dynasty.

In assembling this documentation the author wants to thank several colleagues having supplied him with notes and photographs, helped him with inscriptions and special details. He is especially indebted to Jaromir Malek, Oxford and Edward Brovarski, Boston, further to Robert Bianchi, Brooklyn, Jean Gabus and Cilette Keller, Neuchâtel, Diana Magee, Oxford, William Kelly Simpson, Boston and May Trad, Cairo. Thanks are also due to the various Archives and Museums having given the permission to reproduce drawings and photographs.

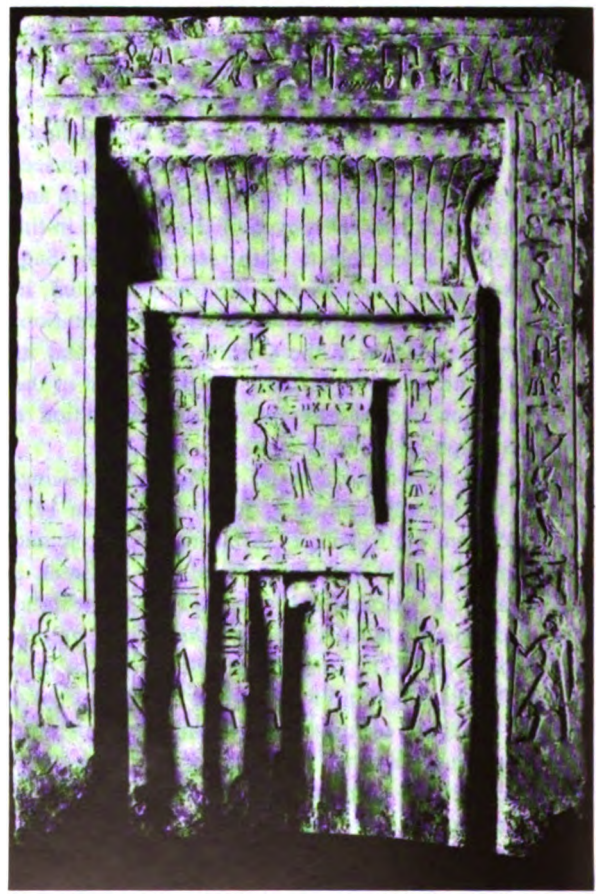
The false door

The false door is known only from a photograph, a tracing and a note in Gunn's MSS, (XIV.46, [1]; R.1.15; Notebook 11, No. 90). Its present location is unknown.

This type of false door is of late Old Kingdom date. The typology by A. Rusch (*ZÄS* 58) includes it as of the reign of Pepi II; although Rusch's work has been criticized in general (cf. S. Wiebach, *Die ägyptische Scheintür,* Hamburg 1981, 17 ff.), his dating of this type seems fairly correct.

The material is limestone. The dimensions are 121 × 82,5 × 24 cm. No colour is preserved. Gunn notes that ink outlines still remain around the cuttings and that many signs are partly bunged up with plaster. In the inscriptions, Theteti invokes Osiris and Anubis. The titles used on this monument are  .

Courtesy Griffith Institute, Oxford



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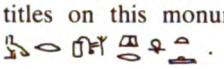
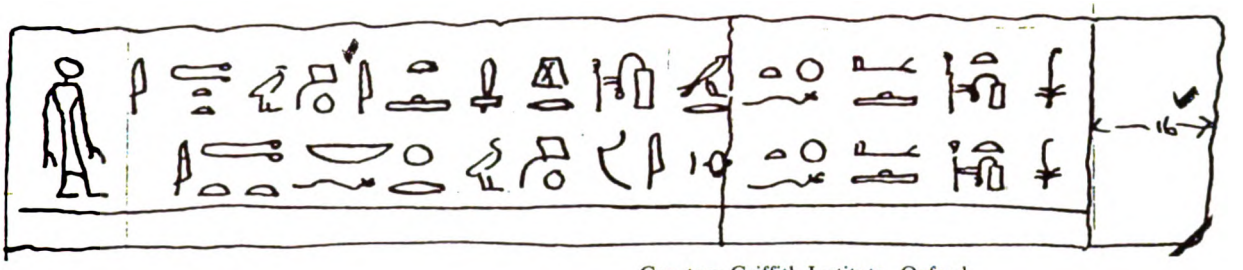
The lintel

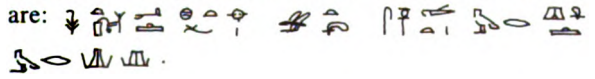
A lintel formed part of the tomb architecture. Its present location is unknown. Gunn has made a sketch and a description (MSS XV.12; Notebook 10, No. 38). The lintel is made of limestone; its dimensions are 32.5 × 150 × 18 cm. At the right-hand end is a 16-cm-wide, blank surface, projecting 2.5 cm forwards. The inscription in two horizontal lines and the figure of a man on the left-hand side are incised. No colours are preserved. The lintel has been fractured into two pieces. Theteti's titles on this monument are  and .

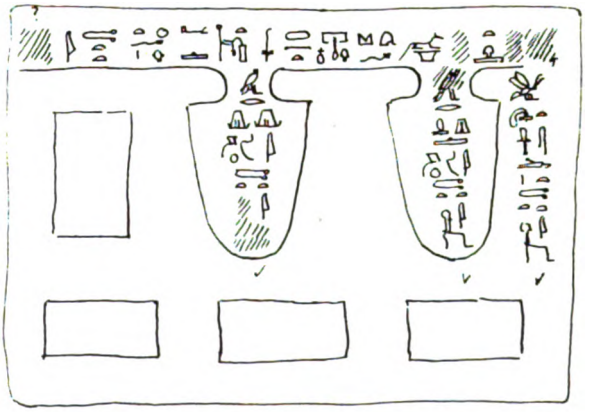


Courtesy Griffith Institute, Oxford

The offering table

Hitherto an offering table, a sketch of which is to be found in Gunn's Notebook (19, p. 23; *Topographical Bibliography III*^{2}*:2*, 511), has not been joined to the Theteti group. However, the titles preceding the name are identical with those of Theteti on other monuments. Hence one must presume that this table originally belonged to his tomb. This attribution has also been made by Edward Brovarski as well as Diana Magee in remarks to the author.

The offering table was broken into two parts, was much decayed and had the measurements 38 × 46.5 × 13 cm. Its present location is unknown. Its shape is clearly shown by Gunn's sketch. The titles of Theteti are:  .



Courtesy Griffith Institute, Oxford

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Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

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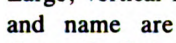
The stone statue

The main sculpture of the tomb was the limestone statue of Theteti (Gunn, MSS XIV.41 [2]), now in Boston (Museum of Fine Arts, 24.605). Its height is 39.5 cm, length 23.5 cm, width 12 cm. Theteti is represented seated in a classical attitude. On the front part of the base, an inscription gives the identity: .

Comments on the sculpture have been made by W. Stevenson-Smith, describing the style as "dry and angular" (*Ancient Egypt as represented in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston 1960, 63) and emphasizing the "simplified, rather crude modelling of the face" (*A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, London 1946, 88). M. Seidel and D. Wildung have chosen the sculpture as representative of 6th-Dynasty art in their contribution to the *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* (Vol. 15, Berlin 1975, 229 and Pl. 146). To them, it is characteristic of the decline of Old Kingdom sculpture at the end of the epoch. The elements of body and face are simply added without inner unity and the plasticity is reduced to a minimum. Body, head and facial details are out of proportion and asymmetrical.

Wooden statuettes

1. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 24.606 (Gunn MSS XIV.41 [1], 41 A; mentioned by W. Stevenson-Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, 88).

The statuette represents a bald-headed, striding man on a rectangular base. Its height is 40.5 cm. There are remains of paint on the body. The left arm is now missing. The photograph in Gunn's MSS shows that the left arm was preserved at the time of the find. It was held straight at the side and the hand was open. The man is dressed in a long kilt, a pleat of which he is holding up with his right hand. It is a variant of the type shown in Boston MFA 24.608 (no. 3 below). There are remains of red paint on the body, white in the eyes. Large, vertical fissures in the body. The owner's title and name are incised on the top of the base:  (after G. A. Reisner's copy in Gunn MSS XIV.41 A, confirmed by E. Brovarski).

The attitude appears for the first time in the 5th Dynasty (cf. J. Vandier, *Manuel* III, 91). The face is the best sculptured and most expressive part of the statuette. The upper part of the body shows only a brief, summary plasticity. The legs are very heavy.

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

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Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

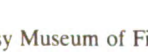
2. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 24.607 (Gunn MSS XIV.41 [1], 41 A; mentioned by W. Stevenson-Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom,* 88; S. K. Morgan, *The Ancient Mediterranean*, Brockton, Mass., 1975, no. 6, Fig. 1, pp. 12–13).

The statuette is of a striding man with a short wig on a rectangular base. The wig has now a small, vertical fissure. The height is 52 cm. The hands are clenched at the sides. The dress is only a short skirt. The title and name are incised on the top of the base: (after G. A. Reisner's copy in Gunn MSS XIV.41 A, confirmed by E. Brovarski).

This is one of the most common, Old Kingdom attitudes in stone and wooden sculpture (cf. J. Vandier, *Manuel* III, 90). The shape is slender and slightly angular but with but little coherence between the different elements. The asymmetrically turned head is thin and lined.

3. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 24.608 (Gunn MSS XIV.41 [1], 41 A; mentioned by W. Stevenson-Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom,* 88; B. Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary* I, Copenhagen 1951, Pl. 186; E.L.B. Terrace, Masterpieces of the Pyramid Age in Boston, *The Connoisseur,* London, Vol. 168, 1968, 204; Los Angeles County Museum of Art, *Age of the Pharaohs, Egyptian Art from American Collections,* 1974, No. 26; W. K. Simpson, *The Face of Egypt: Permanence and Change in Egyptian Art,* Katonah, NY, 1977, No. 3).

This 40-cm-high statuette represents a striding man on a rectangular base. He has a short wig and a long skirt, a pleat of which is held in his right hand (cf. J. Vandier, *Manuel* III, 91), a variant of the type shown by Boston MFA 24.606 (no. 1 above). The left hand is clenched. The smallness of the torso, the heavy legs, and the large hands are disproportionate. The face is thin, the eyes large, and the head compressed.

On the top of the base, the title and name are incised:  (after G. A. Reisner's copy in Gunn's MSS XIV.41 A, confirmed by E. Brovarski).

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Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

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After Drioton

4. Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 49371 (accession year 1925), (not in Gunn's MSS; published by E. Drioton in *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art. Le Musée du Caire,* Paris 1949, 20 & Pl. 43; W. Boerhave Beekman, *Hout in alle tijden* I. Deventer 1949, 543; B. Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary* I, Pl. 182; the figure is also reproduced by error without any corresponding text in W. Wolf, *Die Kunst Ägyptens,* Stuttgart 1957, 189, Fig. 158). The statuette is kept in reserve in Cairo, as it is destined to be sent to the Port Tewfik Suez Museum.

The type of the statuette is the same as Boston MFA 24.606 and 24.608: the striding man holds a pleat of his long skirt with his right hand, while his left hand is clenched. The height is 45 cm. The skirt shows a square pattern, a design which occurs in the late Old Kingdom (cf. E. Staehlin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich,* Berlin 1966, 10). The rather heavy legs form a contrast to the tiny but sensibly modelled torso. The thin face has pregnant details and large eyes, like many of the parallels. The large hand holding the pleat points forward to a characteristic of Middle Kingdom sculpture.

According to the Egyptian Museum's JE register, the base is uninscribed. The attribution to Theteti is entirely founded on Drioton's knowledge of unpublished evidence. The register says only that it comes from a *serdab* in Saqqara.

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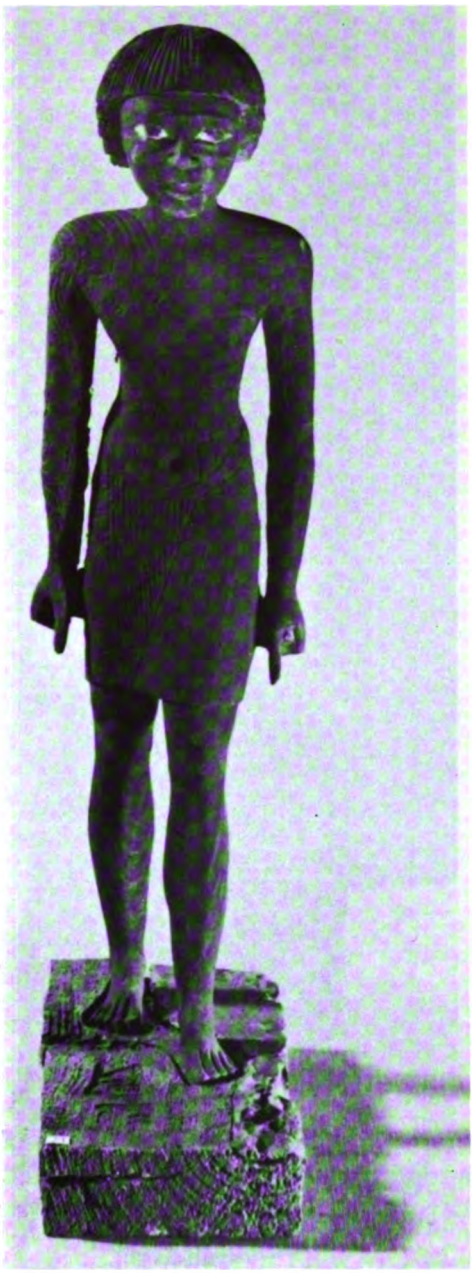


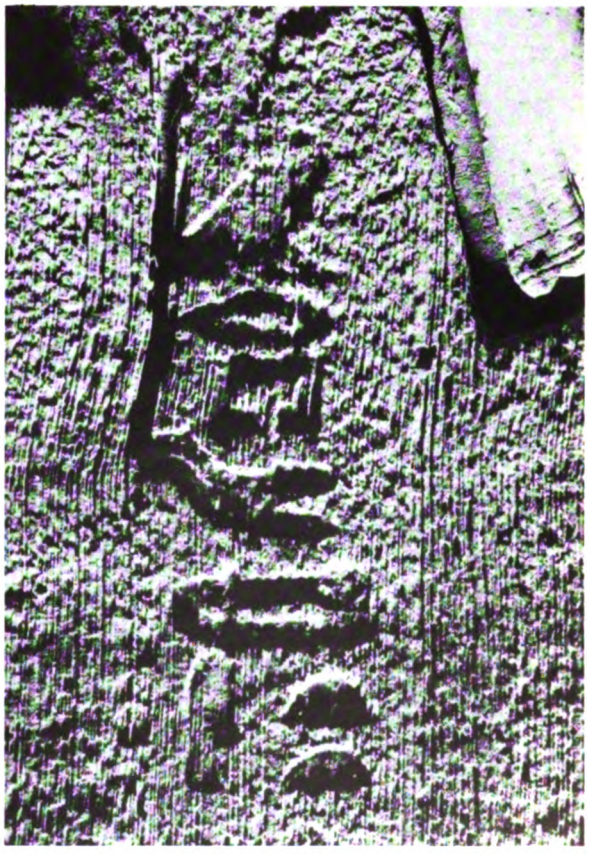
Courtesy Musée d'Ethnographie, Neuchâtel

5. Musée d'Ethnographie, Neuchâtel, Eg. 328 (Gunn MSS XIV.43 [2, left]; for some unimportant representations, cf. *Topographical Bibliography III²:2*, 566).

Theteti is represented as a striding man with clenched hands, 52 cm high. He has a short wig and short skirt. The slender figure lacks plasticity; the torso is very flat. The face is thin and lined. Much white colour is preserved in the large eyes.

On the top of the base, the title and name are incised: . The reading of the title has been made by J. Malek.

The inscription. Courtesy Musée d'Ethnographie, Neuchâtel



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6. Musée d'Ethnographie, Neuchâtel, Eg. 329 (Gunn MSS XIV.44; for some unimportant representations, cf. *Topographical Bibliography III²:2*, 566).

Theteti is seated on a throne without a back. The 31-cm-high statuette is a rather rare type of sculpture in wood, while stone examples of the same type are much more common (cf. J. Vandier, *Manuel* III, 90). His left hand is clenched. His right hand is stretched out on his knees. He wears a short skirt and a half-length wig. At the right foot, the title and name are given: [ ] . The title is very damaged.

There is a heaviness in the seated figure. The torso is flat. The head is large and oblong; seen in profile, it is almost imposing. The face is fuller than in the other Theteti statuettes.

Courtesy Musée d'Ethnographie, Neuchâtel

The inscription. Courtesy Musée d'Ethnographie, Neuchâtel

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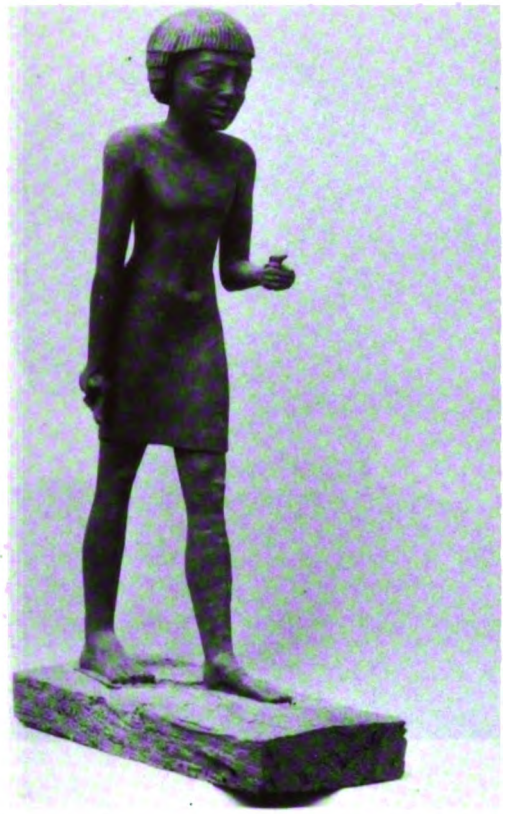
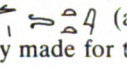


Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

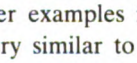
Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

7. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 26.2.8 (not in Gunn's MSS; cf. W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* I, New York. 1953, 112).

Theteti is here striding with his left hand raised; he is supposed to have been holding a staff. The height is 52.5 cm. The dress consists of a short skirt and a short wig. On the top of the base, the inscription reads:  (after R. S. Bianchi's copy, most generously made for this paper).

The figure is slim and the modelling a little bit more perceptible than that of some other examples in the group. In character, the face is very similar to MFA 24.608 (No 3 above), thin and finely sculptured.

8. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 26.2.9 (not in Gunn's MSS; cf. W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* I, 112).

Again we meet with the attitude of Theteti, upright and holding a pleat of his long skirt with his right hand while his left one is clenched. The large head with its short wig is disproportionate in relation to the tiny torso. As often in the Theteti group, his face is a little emaciated, the skin following the bone structure of the cranium. The inscription is incised on the top of the base:  (after R. S. Bianchi's copy, most generously made for this paper).

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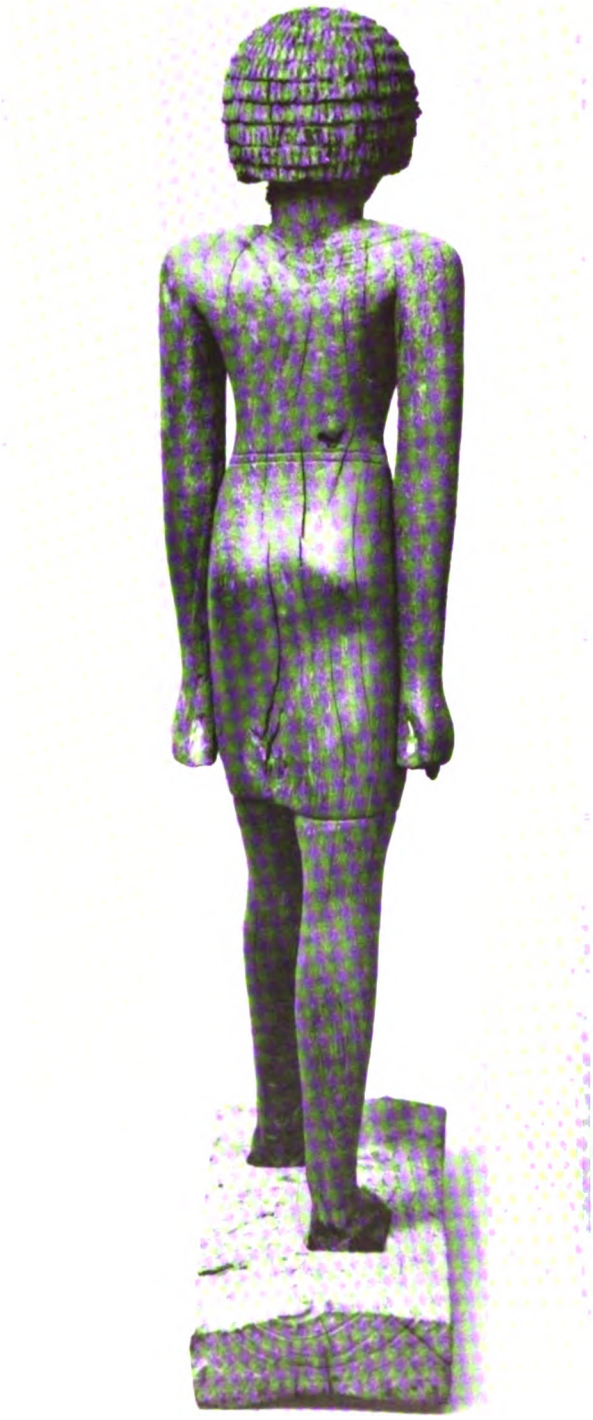

9. Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm, MM 11411 (Gunn MSS XIV.43 [1]; Nationalmuseum, *5000 år egyptisk konst,* Stockholm 1961, no. 30; Medelhavsmuseet, *En introduktion,* Stockholm 1982, 30–31; Musée des antiquités méditerranéennes et du Proche-Orient de Stockholm, *Archeologia* 198, 1985, 25). Acquired from the Egyptian Government in 1935 by Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf on behalf of the Stockholm Egyptian Museum.

The striding man with hands clenched at his sides – the right hand following the movement of the leg a little behind it – is, as usual, placed on a rectangular base. The height is 42.4 cm. A short wig and a short, partly pleated skirt are his only dress. There are some fissures in the torso and in the wig. Extensive remains of colour are to be found: red paint all over the body, white in the eyes and black on the eye brows.

The round face is very finely modelled with precise details; in profile especially, the man shows noble features, which, together with the slender torso, contrast with the rather square and heavy legs.

The rectangular base has a large fissure in the front part. The inscription is incised on the top of the base behind the figure: . The inscription may be a palimpsest.

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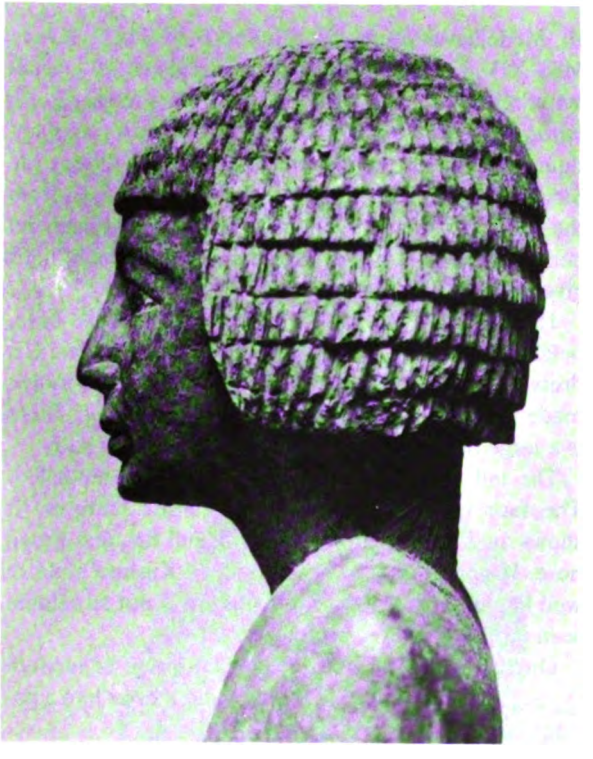

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10. Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm, MM 11412 (Gunn MSS XIV.43 [1]; Medelhavsmuseet, *Vägen till evigheten,* Stockholm 1973, no. 58; Medelhavsmuseet, *En introduktion,* Stockholm 1982, 30–31; Musée des antiquités méditerranéennes et du Proche-Orient de Stockholm, *Archeologia* 198, 1985, 25). Acquired from the Egyptian Government in 1931 by Pehr Lugn on behalf of the Stockholm Egyptian Museum with funds given by Mr Nils Rettig.

Theteti is striding forwards on a rectangular base, height 41.9 cm. His hands are clenched at his sides. His dress is a short skirt and a short wig. The right foot is made in two parts; the front one is now missing. There is a large fissure in the wig and several in the body.

The tall figure is slender and summarily modelled. The face is interesting with its realistic features. It shows an almost negroid type with full lips and broad nose. It is important to note that the "Kushite" fold so well known in 25th-Dynasty sculpture is not so seldom seen in Old Kingdom sculpture.

On the top of the base, the inscription is incised: . The inscription looks like a palimpsest.

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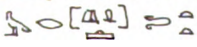
11. Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm, MM 11413 (Gunn MSS XIV.43 [1]; Nationalmuseum, *5000 år egyptisk konst,* Stockholm 1961, no 31 and plate [the inv. no. and measurements are wrong in the caption]; Medelhavsmuseet, *Vägen till evigheten,* Stockholm 1973, no. 57 and plate; Medelhavsmuseet, *En introduktion,* Stockholm 1982, 30–31; Musée des antiquités méditerranéennes et du Proche-Orient de Stockholm, *Archeologia* 198, 1985, 25). Acquired from the Egyptian Government in 1931 by Pehr Lugn on behalf of the Stockholm Egyptian Museum with funds given by Mr Nils Rettig.

Theteti is striding with his hands clenched at his sides, height 35.2 cm. He has a short wig and a rather long variant of the short skirt. The left foot is made in two parts. The figure has some long fissures. The shoulders are small, the torso is thin and the legs – as so often – square and heavy. The face is full, almost fleshy.

On the top of the rectangular base the inscription is incised:  .

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Gunn MSS XIV.42 [2]. Courtesy Griffith Institute, Oxford

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12–17. Location unknown (Gunn MSS XIV.42 [2], 43 [1, right], 43 [2, middle and right]).

Gunn's MSS record six further wooden statuettes from the tomb of Theteti. None of them can be located today. Measurements and inscriptions are not given in the MSS. The three statuettes in XIV.42 [2] are of a well-known Theteti type: the bald man standing holding a pleat of his long skirt – one of them with a square pattern – with his right hand. The position of the left hand is different. One statuette has the arm hanging and the hand stretched out at the side and another the arm hanging with hand clenched while the third – and this is unusual – holds his left hand on his breast. The three statuettes are rather disproportionate, sometimes heavy. The faces seem to share the general characteristics of other Theteti statuettes examined.

Gunn MSS XIV.43 [2]. Courtesy Griffith Institute, Oxford

Gunn MSS XIV.43 [1]. Courtesy Griffith Institute, Oxford

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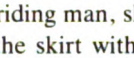
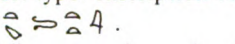
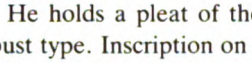
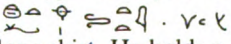
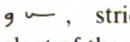
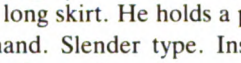
In MSS XIV.43 [1 & 2], another three statuettes are to be found, all of them displaying that most common attitude, the striding man with his arms at his sides and his fists clenched, dressed in a short skirt and a short wig. All of them are rather slender. Two of them (MSS XIV.43 [2]) are very similar and resemble one of the best-preserved Theteti statuettes, Boston 24.608 (no. 3 above). The third one is very similar to Stockholm MM 11412 (no. 10 above).

18–20. Egyptian Museum, Cairo (not in Gunn's MSS).

Three statuettes of Theteti, hitherto unnoticed, are now on display in the Cairo Museum, Room 32. They do not have any Cairene inventory numbers but show numbers which, I understand, are connected with the Saqqara reserves; they are painted in Arabic. As I have not been able to handle the statuettes, I intend to give only a short description:  , striding man, short wig, long skirt. He holds a pleat of the skirt with his right hand. Robust type. Inscription on the rectangular base:  .
 , striding man, short wig, short skirt, hands at his sides. Slender type. Inscription on the rectangular base:  .  , striding man, short wig, long skirt. He holds a pleat of the skirt with his right hand. Slender type. Inscription on the rectangular base:  .

Wooden models

1. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 26.2.10 (not in Gunn's MSS; J. H. Breasted, Jr, *Egyptian Servant Statuettes*, Washington 1948, Plate 1).

A man, height 26.2 cm, is standing on a rectangular base. He is leaning forward, working with a hoe. He is dressed in a short skirt and wears a short wig. There are traces of red colour on the body and black on the wig and the base. The arms are attached by wooden dowel-pins. The head is partly damaged and the wood is in poor condition. There is no inscription. No feet are modelled, because the idea is that the man is walking in mud (cf. Breasted, *op.cit.*, 6).

2. Musée d'Ethnographie, Neuchâtel, Eg. 330 (not in Gunn's MSS; *Vom Euphrat zum Nil. Kunst aus dem alten Ägypten und Vorderasien*, Egg/Zürich 1985, 14–15).

Two women are striding forwards on a rectangular base. On their heads they carry baskets, holding them with their raised left hands. Their right hands are clenched at their sides. The figures are 34.5 cm high.

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Gunn MSS XIV.42 [1]. Courtesy Griffith Institute, Oxford

Above left, after Breasted. *Below left*, after Vom Euphrat zum Nil

3–6. Location unknown (Gunn MSS XIV.42.1).

Three female offering-bringers and a standing female are represented on the photograph in the MSS. They may have belonged to the Theteti tomb. Three are clearly offering-bringers with baskets on their heads – now missing on two of them – and provisions in their hands, a fairly common type. The standing female may have been a statuette of a deceased woman, perhaps the only extant statuette of the wife of Theteti.

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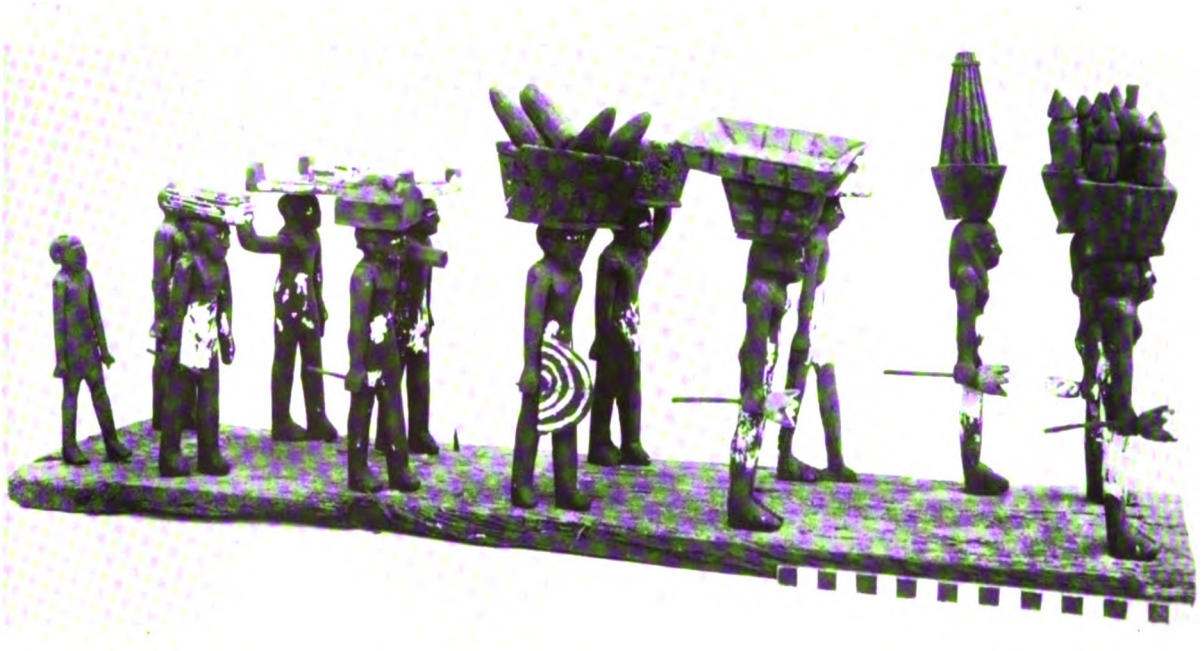

Gunn MSS XIV.40 [1]. Courtesy Griffith Institute, Oxford

7. Location unknown (Gunn MSS XIV.40.1).

The grand array of offering-bringers on the photograph in the MSS may also have belonged to the Theteti tomb. Thirteen figures appear together on the large, rectangular base. They carry all kinds of paraphernalia for the benefit of the deceased, from food supplements in baskets to flowers, a fan and a bed. Large scenes of this type are not very common. It is a pity that the present one seems to be lost today.

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Nebitef, Son of Intef and Ankhet

Bengt Peterson

In 1979 a large Middle Kingdom statue went on sale in New York[1]. In 1983 the Medelhavsmuseet acquired it in London. A statue of this size of the Middle Kingdom is a rare visitor on the art market. Helped by private sponsorship the Medelhavsmuseet got the opportunity to possess an attractive piece[2].

The 54 cm-high statue (inventory no. MME 1983:12) represents a man seated cross-legged on a base. It is made of brown quartzite. The man's hands rest flat on his thighs. He has a large wig with pointed lappets. His high skirt is of a type common in the second half of the 12th Dynasty and in the 13th Dynasty. It has two overlapping tabs at the chest.

The face was damaged. The quartzite contains several flint nodules. Holes at the sides of the figure may have been caused by nodules falling from their sockets. This could of course also be the reason for the damage of the face. The lower part of it comprising the chin and the mouth and the lower part of the nose were lacking. A very skilful restoration was carried out in England. This addition gives the statue a life which is necessary for the museum-public's ability to enjoy it as a work of art. The decision to buy the statue was taken after having viewed it before and after the emendation which is – of course – easy to remove.

The face of Nebitef before restoration. After Christie's sale catalogue

The statue shows the general characteristics of the late 12th Dynasty and the 13th Dynasty. The type of the seated man is common. Details as the dress, the large hands and ears point, however, less to this date as does the very realistic rendering of the face. The influence of the likenesses of Sesostris III and Amenemhat III is evident. The old-age-type is a not uncommon feature in the epoch's private statuary influenced by the royal sculpture. In the contemporary sculpture of this size there is only one very close parallel. It is the statue of Si-kahika in Cairo[3]. It is so close in character, in details as wig and dress, workmanship, size and material that one must assume that they have the same origin. The Cairo statue comes from Karnak and the Stockholm one is said to come from Upper Egypt, but the latter fact may be a secondary conclusion made at the presentation of the statue in the New York sale catalogue. Both of the statues with their likenesses of aged and wrinkled men are true monumental representatives of the special mood so characteristic of the late Middle Kingdom.

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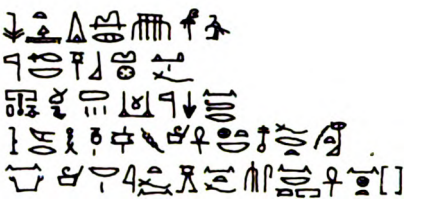
The face of Si-kahika in Cairo. After Terrace & Fischer

Who is the man? A horizontal inscription of five lines tells us his petition to the king and the god in order to ascertain his maintenance for the perpetual future. His name is included as well as those of his parents. We just learn his name Nebitef. No title precedes it as is the case with Si-kahika who was a steward, a *mr pr* "Overseer of the House". The names of the parents are, as that of Nebitef, very common, Intef and Ankhet, the latter preceded by that most usual of female titles "Lady of the House". This family seems not to be recorded on other monuments[4].

The inscription runs:



"A boon which the King gives to Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, the Great God, the Lord of Abydos, that he may give an offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster vessels and linen clothing, incense, oil, a sweet breeze of Life, all beautiful and pure things to the soul of Nebitef, son of[5] Intef, born by the Lady of the House Ankhet."

Thus this man has preserved his identity through the millenia. Quietly awaiting his offerings in a tomb or at a temple somewhere in Egypt he projected his name and appearance into the future. We are happy to know him and will try to keep him well in Sweden.

[1] *Important Classical, Western Asiatic and Egyptian Antiquities ... which will be sold on Thursday, June 14, 1979,* Christie, Manson & Woods International Inc., New York, Frontispiece, and no. 188 with plate and illustration.

[2] Reproduced in Beate George, *Egyptiska utställningen. En vägledning,* Stockholm 1984, p. 13.

[3] Cairo, JE 43928; only published in Edward L. B. Terrace and Henry G. Fischer, *Treasures of the Cairo Museum. From Predynastic to Roman Times,* London 1970, pp. 89–92.

[4] Dr Jaromir Malek of the Griffith Institute in Oxford has most kindly searched for information.

[5] The filiation by an *n* only is very rare. It has been noted by H. Ranke in his *Personennamen,* II, p. 9.

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A Ramesside Male Head

Ingegerd Lindblad

In 1985, Medelhavsmuseet was presented with a head (Figs. 1–5) by a private donor, Alice and Arvid Hardmark.[1] The head had been in the possession of the family for more than one generation. It was acquired from Tano, the well-known dealers in antiquities in Cairo.

The material is a rough kind of limestone. The max. height is 23.3 cm, the max. width 33 cm and the max. depth 26 cm. The max. width of the break is 32 cm and the max. depth 25 cm. The face is 15 cm high and 19 cm wide.

The head has been cut off horizontally, slightly below the chin. The beard is broken obliquely. Part of the head-dress is chipped below, as well as on top. Just below the crown of the head, at the back, there is a deep, rectangular hole. It was probably made in modern times to facilitate the mounting of the head. The nose is broken below on the left side and the tip is slightly scraped. The left side of the mouth is worn. There are patches of pale, pinkish plaster below on the head-dress as well as on the lower part of the left cheek. Here, crude chisel-marks are visible. Also on the nostrils, the wings of the nose and the contours of the eyes, there are remains of plaster of the same kind. It is not possible to decide whether this is an original plaster coating or whether it was put on in modern times, possibly to cover faulty parts. Almost the whole surface of the head-dress is covered with tool-marks (Fig. 5). The front of the head-dress and the middle part of the face and beard are stained with red, secondary paint.

The head bears a wig with a plain surface. It is flat on the crown but curved at the sides. A beard is attached obliquely to and slightly ahead of the chin.

The broad face has a round shape.[2] The forehead is flattish and markedly recessive. The full cheeks are smoothly rounded all the way below, except for the damage on the left cheek. The yoke-bones are plastically indistinct. The maximum protrusion of the cheek in three-quarter view is just below the level of the bottom of the nose. Both jaws are situated in front of the root of the nose, the lower only slightly so. There is a deep semicircular depression just below the mouth. The chin is plastically separated from the cheeks and has a convex, markedly jutting shape in profile.

The medium-sized eyes are almond-shaped and situated in the frontal plane of the face. The right eye is much wider and more oblique. The rim of the upper eyelid is plastically faintly modelled, while that of the lower is plain. The eyeballs are globular, the right one markedly so. They protrude slightly beyond the upper eyelid and are very oblique in profile. Below the eyes, there are depressions. Above the eyelids, there are grooves that make the orbital area jut ahead of the recessive forehead. The grooves also mark faintly modelled, superciliary arches.

The long, slightly curved nose runs close to the surface of the face. It is broader than the distance between the eyes. Although the tip is scraped, the original, flattish shape is evident. The bridge of the nose is plastically well marked and gradually gets wider below. The wings of the nose are clearly indicated by wide, semi-circular grooves. The septum is broad and there are no real holes to indicate the nostrils. The philtrum is plastically faintly modelled and shows a slightly concave, jutting shape in profile.

The smiling mouth is slightly broader than the nose. The upper lip is longer and much thicker. The contour of the upper lip is marked by a faint rim, while that of the lower is just an edge. The Cupid's bow is rounded. The upper lip diminishes slightly in thickness towards the corners, where depressions and faint folds are modelled. The lower lip gradually gets narrower towards

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Fig. 1

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the corners and ends in a pointed shape. At the middle of the upper lip, somewhat below the Cupid's bow, a faint, separate, convex shape is modelled. This shape is parallelled in the wavy, middle line of the mouth, which descends to a point at this spot. Also in profile, this additional volume is visible in the vertical, but differentiated outline of the upper lip. The lower lip is slightly convex and juts obliquely forwards in profile.

The formal style is a mixture of soft modelling and clear-cut, powerful features. The softly rounded face, the realistic modelling of the mouth[3] and the amiable expression contrast with the bold, powerful profile, evident in the markedly recessive forehead, the jutting, orbital area, the long, curved nose and the jutting chin.

The very broad, round face with its stressed, recessive forehead, the long, curved nose running close to the surface of the face and the realistically modelled mouth indicate an origin in the Ramesside Period. This type of long, curved nose with a flattish tip, combined with a markedly recessive forehead, originated in the time of Sethos I. The modelling of the mouth is related to that of Tutankhamun but is, in comparison, less accentuated in the details.[4]

Apart from the very broad, round face, these features are common in the statuary of Ramesses II.[5] As I pointed out in an earlier article, a specific study of the sculpture of the Ramesside Period is lacking.[6] However, a survey of the existing literature on the period

Fig. 2

shows that the face becomes rounder in the period succeeding Ramesses II. The modelling becomes, on the whole, more stereotyped and more withdrawn from the softer, "warmer" modelling prevalent in the post-Amarna period and the immediately succeeding period.

An obvious parallel to the head under discussion,

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

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although of a higher, artistic quality, is a head in the Luxor Museum (Fig. 6).[7] The facial shape is the same, as is apparently the long nose with a highly situated root, as well as the shape and execution of the eyes and mouth. The orbital area, in comparison, appears more elaborated, the mouth less so. Also the spacing of the organs of the senses is the same. Unfortunately, this head is not securely dated by inscription or provenance. In the catalogue, it is suggested that it originated in the reign of Ramesses II or that of his son Merenptah.

In the absence of a study of the statuary of this period, a study of contemporary reliefs may be helpful.[8] The upper part of the face in profile is parallelled as early as the reliefs of Sethos I.[9] The profile as a whole, including the jutting chin, is stylistically closest to a relief depicting Ramses IV.[10]

In comparison with securely dated statues of the reign of Ramesses II,[11] private statues with round faces sometimes occur but are generally closer to the more "sensitive" modelling of the post-Amarna style and often have a more morose expression. To sum up what has been said so far, the very broad face, the amiable expression, the bold but stereotyped modelling of the orbital area, combined with this type of profile with a jutting chin, argue for a date somewhat later than that of Ramesses II. An origin in the very early part of the Twentieth Dynasty is here proposed, although a date in the late part of the Nineteenth Dynasty is not to be definitively excluded.

As regards the function of the statue, it might have been a block-statue or a naophoros, considering the relatively large size of the head, which is rare in this period, if not in statues of these types.[12]

Fig. 5

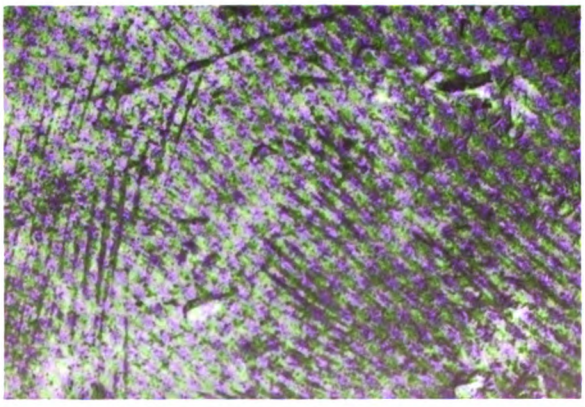

Fig. 6. After *The Luxor Museum of Ancient Art*

[1] Reg. No. MME 1985:2.

[2] For the terms and points of reference used in the article, see Lindblad, I., 1984. *Royal Sculpture of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt. Medelhavsmuseet Memoirs,* Vol. 5, pp. 11–13. Stockholm.

[3] For a brief survey of a similar modelling of the mouth, see Lindblad, I., 1984. Four Pieces of Royal Sculpture from the New Kingdom at Stockholm. *Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, Bulletin* 19, pp. 31–33. Stockholm.

[4] Lindblad, I., op. cit. (note 3), p. 33.

[5] For example, *The Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art,* Figs. 118–119. Cairo, American Research Center in Egypt. 1979. Mainz.

[6] Lindblad, I., op. cit. (note 3), p. 36.

[7] Op. cit. (note 5), Fig. 124.

[8] Myśliwiec, K., 1976. Le Portrait royal dans le bas-relief du Nouvel Empire. *Travaux du Centre d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences,* Tome 18. Warszawa.

[9] Myśliwiec, K., op. cit., for example, Fig. 211.

[10] Myśliwiec, K., op. cit., Fig. 292.

[11] For example, Legrain, M. G., 1909. Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers. *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire,* Tome second, Pls. XIII–XX, XXXI–XXXIV & XXXVI. Le Caire; Page, A., 1976. *Egyptian Sculpture Archaic to Saite from the Petrie Collection,* Fig. 98. Bath.

[12] See note 11.

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Interior Iconography of the Coffin of Khonsu-mes

Gertie Englund

Mummy board, NME 894, and bottom decoration, NME 891 = VM 228

Provenance:	Deir el-Bahari	
Dating:	Dynasty 21, c. 1069–945 B.C.	
Material:	Wood, plastered, painted, and varnished	
	Mummy Board	*Bottom of Coffin*
Length:	182 cm	183 cm
Width:	22.5–42 cm	23.5–43.7 cm

Khonsu-mes was an Egyptian priest living in Thebes somewhere around 1000 B.C. According to the titles inscribed on his coffin he was a priest in the service of the goddess Mut and a scribe in the temple of Amon. The divine couple Amon and Mut and their son Khonsu formed the triad venerated in Thebes. Khonsu-mes was linked to these Theban gods by his functions and his name and was one of the numerous priests serving in their temple and administering the theocratic state of that period.

A large number of coffins belonging to this priesthood was found in 1891 by Daressy in a reused tomb of the nineteenth dynasty at Deir el-Bahari on the west bank of Thebes. Because of the increasing number of grave robberies private tombs were no longer used. The coffins were instead assembled in collective tombs in hidden and guarded places, the so called 'cachettes'. The rich symbolic grave decoration with religious scenes that were so important for the after-life was then abandoned and replaced by the decoration of the limited space of the anthropoid coffin. The most characteristic feature of these coffins is the number of scenes and iconographic elements that give the impression of *horror vacui*. They are also very colourful with figures in red, green, blue, and white on a golden-yellow background. The coffins are varnished and shiny. There were generally two anthropoid coffins and one mummy board, that was placed on the mummy in the innermost coffin, belonging to each burial but from Khonsu-mes are known only one coffin and the mummy board. The coffin is now in the Victoriamuseum in Uppsala (NME 891 = VM 228) and the mummy board in the Medelhavsmuseet, Egyptian Department in Stockholm (NME 894). Both objects are well preserved and only small parts of the stucco are missing in a few places.

The Mummy Board

The decoration of the mummy board (Fig. 1) is arranged symmetrically around the mid axis. The symmetry is, however, not absolute, there are details in all the scenes that differ so that one side is never the mirror of the other. Further the mid axis is not in the middle of the board and the left side (as seen from the mummy) is c. 2 cm narrower than the right.

The mummy board is bordered by a narrow stripe of green, yellow, and red fields of different width.

Head

The small head has a striped wig extending down the chest to the level of the breasts (Fig. 2). The diadem is outlined by two bands on each side and with transversal stripes at regular intervals. Rosettes are interspaced between the stripes. The eyes are large and encircled by a contour line and the eyebrows strongly marked. There is a cavity in the chin where a beard has been attached. The ears are large with holes in the ear lobes. There are three horizontal lines on the throat.

Chest

The body and the broad collar, *wsḫ*, have the same decoration: parallel stripes with a zigzag and circle

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Figs. 1–3, *overleaf* Figs. 4–5

pattern. On the shoulders the falcon head of the clasp of the collar is depicted. The arms are crossed above the collar. The hands are closed. The hands as well as the lappets of the wig are modelled in high relief and the arms in low relief. At the elbows there are lotus flowers. In the space remaining between the hands and the wig lappets there is a winged scarab and above the scarab a disk flanked by uraei; on each side then a wedjat-eye, the right eye to the right (= the right side of the mummy), the left to the left, above a neb-sign and then the round name ring, shen. On the right side there follows a star and the hieroglyphic sign for the letter *t* and on the left side there is only the *t*. The hind legs of the scarab hold a shen and below it there is the gold sign. In the triangular spaces above the elbows there are images: to the right the symbol of the west to the left a kneeling figure with an ostrich feather instead of a head and holding the sceptre of power, nechacha.

Lower part of the body

The dominating figures of the lower part of the body (Fig. 3) are three kneeling winged goddesses. The one placed in the axis of the mummy board is Nephthys.

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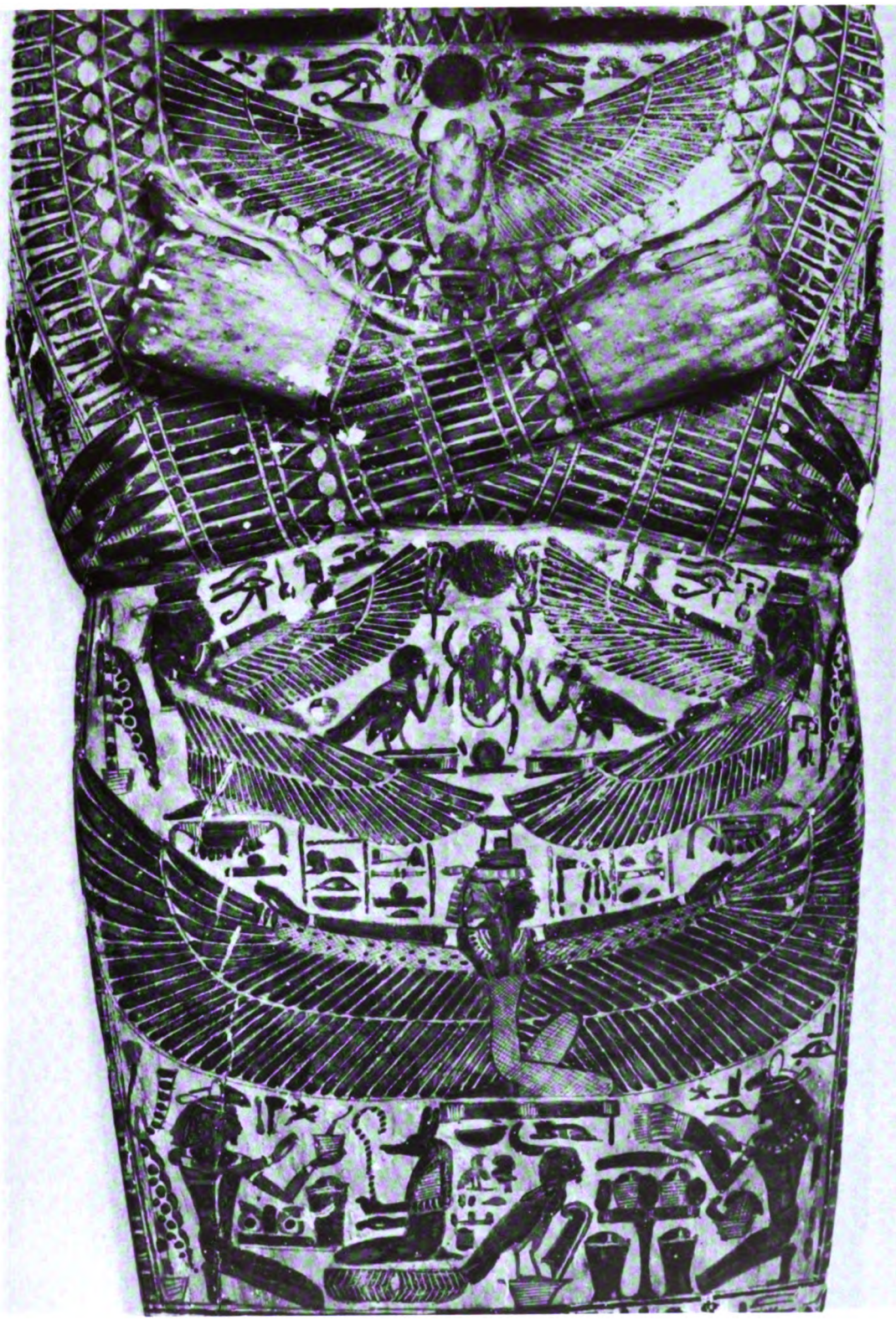

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Her wings cover all the width of the board. She is placed on a narrow rectangular sign that represents a rolled papyrus or an offering table. The dress of the goddess like that of the two others is hatched. The two other goddesses, placed with their backs towards the border of the board and with their wings outstretched towards the central axis, are anonymous. They hold maat-feathers in one hand and kneel on the sign for gold. Between their protecting wings are two bearded Ba-birds in adoration of the central scarab. The bird on the left side is wearing a diadem with floating ribbons and behind the bird to the right there is an undefinable slightly damaged round sign. As in the scene above, the scarab has a shen-sign between the hind legs and a disk flanked by uraei above. The uraei have one sign of life each around the tail. Between the backs of the goddesses and the border there are imiut-emblems, representing a pole ending in a lotus bud and with an inflated animal skin suspended on the pole. This is a symbol of resurrection. On the left side there are also the hieroglyphs reading *pr nfr* "funerary workshop".

Above the goddess on the left side we find the text (read from the central axis) *dw3 wḏ3t* (right eye) *pr nfr* which might mean: "Praise the healed eye of the house of perfection (= funerary workshop)" and to the right *dw3t nfr wḏ3t* which might mean: "Praise of the perfection of the healed eye." Above the goddess known to be Nephthys by her headdress we read: *Nwt ms nṯrw di.s ḥtpt n Wsir nb ḥtp* "Nut who gives birth to the gods, may she give offerings to Osiris, Lord of offerings". The winged goddess, depicted at this place of coffins, is generally as the text says Nut. Nut is the sky goddess who according to the Heliopolitan creation myth is the mother of Osiris and according to the myth of the sun, Re, is the mother of Re. Nut conceives Re every evening and gives birth to him every morning. The coffin that surrounds the dead bearing him to a new life is often called Nut but it can also be attributed to Neith. The lid of Khonsu-mes' coffin shows Neith as winged protective deity in this position together with the text: "I am your mother Nut" (Englund 1974, pp. 56–58, Fig. 12). Here on the mummy board we have an unusual identification of this goddess as Nephthys, who has also together with Isis mother functions with regard to the dead who is to be reborn as Horus, the son of Isis, nourished by Nephthys.

The scene below occupies the whole width of the board. It is a double offering scene. To the right an imiut-emblem with a lotus bud coming out of it and in front of it an anonymous kneeling offerer with head band, incense cone and lotus bud(?) on his head offers incense to a seated jackalheaded god with the heka sceptre of power in his hand placed above the hieroglyph for festival, heb. The text behind this god reads *nb imntyw* "Lord of the Westerners". Between the two figures there is a small offering table with i.a. an unguent jar. The scene is headed *dw3 nṯr nfr* "adoration of the good god". On the left side there is a similar offerer named Osiris, holding a bunch of leeks or onions kneeling in front of an offering table larger and higher than that to the right, laden with cups and vegetables and unguent jars. Behind the offerer are the hieroglyphs *m3' ḫrw* "justification". The scene is entitled *dw3 Wsir* "adoration of Osiris". Osiris is also depicted on the other side of the offering table in the shape of a Ba-bird seated on an incense burner from which a maat-feather sticks out. This Ba-bird identified as Osiris by the hieroglyph on top of its head has a horn(?) on its head similar to a representation at the foot end of the lid of the Khonsu-mes coffin (Englund 1974, p. 59 and Fig. 11).

Lower part of the board corresponding to the legs

In the middle of the lower part of the board there are two vertical text columns. Each half is divided in four scenes separated by horizontal lines of text.

1. *The scenes* (from top to bottom)

The first scene to the right (Fig. 4) shows a god seated on a cubic throne placed on a dais consisting of a heb-sign. The god turns his back toward the central axis. It is a god wearing the white crown with floating ribbons and holding the sceptres heka and nechacha. The hieroglyphs on both sides of the crown identify the god as *Wsir nṯr nfr* "Osiris, good god". In front of the seated deity there is an incense burner, an imiut-emblem with lotus bud, and a small offering table. On top of the imiut and facing the god there is a vulture wearing the white crown, Nekhbet, and standing on a heb-sign. The vulture holds a *w3s*, the sceptre of prosperity, and as a link between the bird and Osiris from the beak of the vulture to the front of the god there is the sign of life, ankh, with the rounded part towards the vulture. The scene is entitled *ḥnk ḥtp ḥr* ... (*imntt?*) "to present offering in ... (the west?).

The first scene to the left is a mirror image of the one to the right. King, throne, and dais are similar but for a detail of the throne where there is now a rectangular space with rectangular subdivisions. The deity is here entitled *Wsir nb ḥtp nṯr nfr* "Osiris, Lord of offerings, good god". In front of the god there is a decorative

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element (a ribbon?) and on top of it a cobra goddess, Wadjet, wearing the white crown and holding a *w3s*-sceptre to which the pillar of stability, djed, and an ankh-sign are attached, the ankh-sign touching the front of the god by the rounded part of the cross.

The following two scenes are also mirror images. They depict a falcon wearing the atef-crown and the large collar, *wsḫ*, with its counterpoise. In front of the bird there is a cobra with the white crown and above its back a winged eye, the left eye to the right and the right eye to the left. The accompanying text reads: *Pṯḥ Skr nṯr nfr* "Ptah-Sokaris, the good god". These two scenes are almost exactly alike. There is, however, a slight difference for the tail of the falcon extends past the base line and covers part of the enrolled mat below. Further the scene to the left is like all the scenes to the left considerably narrower.

The third pair of scenes (Fig. 5) are again mirror images depicting a kneeling god with beard, diadem, and crossed ribbon around the neck (?), holding in one hand the two sceptres heka and nechacha, and called Osiris. Under the figure is a rolled mat. Between this mat and another mat further below there are four ointment jars. The only difference between the two scenes is that the one to the right also has the hieroglyphs *nṯr nfr* "good god".

The two final scenes represent Isis to the right and Nephthys to the left, kneeling making the gesture of wailing women. In front of Isis is her name and some hieroglyphs that might be interpreted as *ḥnwt ḥtp* "Lady of offerings" and in front of Nephthys is her name and three lines that might represent *mw* "water".

2. *The texts*

The horizontal lines contain from top to bottom the wish that the dead shall be a venerated being with the gods, sons of Horus, Imset, Hapy, and Duamutef, as well as with Isis and Nephthys.

The vertical lines are to be read out from the central axis:

To the right: *ḏd mdw in Pṯḥ-Skr-Wsir ḥr-ib štyt pr m ḫt (?) ḥḏt ḥr tp.f šsp.f ḥḳ3 nḫ3ḫ3 di.f prt-ḫrw t ḥnḳt k3w 3pdw (?) ḥr imnty n Wsir w'b n Mwt šs n pr Imn Ḫnsw-ms m3' ḫrw ḫr Wsir nb 3bḏw (?)*

"Words spoken by Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris who is in the sanctuary (of Sokaris) who goes out of the womb the white crown on his head after he has received the heka- and the nekhakha-sceptres and after he has made invocation-offerings consisting of bread, beer, oxen, fowls in the West to Osiris, the wab-priest of Mwt, the scribe of the house of Amun, Khonsu-mes, the righteous of voice with Osiris, Lord of Abydos(?)."

To the left: *ḏd mdw in Wsir nb nḥḥ ḫnty imntyw wn-nfr ḥḳ3 'nḫw di.sn ḥtp ḏf3w ḫt nbt nfrt w'bt nty 'nḫ nṯrw im.sy n Wsir w'b n Mwt šs n pr Imn Ḫnsw-ms m3' ḫrw m ḫrt-nṯr ... (?)*

"Words spoken by Osiris. Lord of eternity, the foremost of the westerners, Wennefer, the ruler of the living, may they give offerings, provisions to Osiris the wab-priest of Mwt, the scribe of the house of Amun, Khonsu-mes, justified of voice in the necropolis ... (?)."

The Bottom Decoration of the Coffin

The inside of Khonsu-mes' coffin was also decorated (Fig. 6). The sides were painted yellow and the bottom dark red and on this red background there is a picture of a goddess. It is a large picture, the goddess measuring 89.5 cm from head to feet, of the divinity of the west. On her head she wears the symbol of the west and a falcon. Her head is encircled by a diadem whose ribbons hang down on her back. She wears a large dark-coloured wig and the broad collar, *wsḫ*, a long red gown is worn with blue ribbons under her breasts. Her hands are stretched out over offering tables dressed with two lotus flowers, water jars, and bread. The goddess is standing on a gold-sign, *nbw*, with horizontal blue and red stripes.

The lower part of the bottom is occupied by a 44 cm high sign *tit*, a symbol of protection particularly for pregnant women, white with red and blue stripes, and with a red and blue lotus flower at each side.

A text column is placed on each side of the goddess. The text begins in front of her where we read: *ḫf(t)-ḥr n nb.s ḥnwt ḥtpt di.s prt-ḫrw* "she who is in front of her lord, the lady of offerings, may she give invocation offerings" and continues at her back: *n Wsir w'b n Mwt šs n pr Imn Ḫnsw-ms m3' ḫrw* "to the Osiris, the wab priest of Mut, the scribe in the house of Amon, Khonsu-mes, the justified". 'She who is in front of her lord' is a designation of the Theban necropolis whose personification is depicted here as the goddess of the west.

Dating

Both coffin and mummy board are of high quality and so similar that they must have been made together in

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Fig. 6

the same workshop. Both have the peculiar Ba-bird with a horn on its head. Both have this apparent symmetry that is asymmetric in details, both have the central axis displaced c. 2 cm making the halves unequal, and both coffin lid and mummy board have the same disposition and contents of scenes.

As for the dating some details of the 'cachette' find mentioned by Daressy (1907, p. 28) give us criteria for post quem dating. Pendants bearing the name of Pinedjem II, 990–969 B.C. (Kitchen 1973, p. 465) and straps inscribed with the name of Amenemope 993–984 B.C. (Kitchen 1973, p. 465) were included in the trappings of Khonsu-mes' burial. According to these objects and following the chronology proposed by Kitchen, Khonsu-mes must thus have died at the earliest in the year 990 B.C. Certain details of style also furnish dating criteria (cf. Niwinsky, 1983, 441 sqq.). The arms modelled on the *wsḫ*-collar that we have on the lid of the coffin as well as on the mummy board is charachteristic of the first half of the 21st dynasty and the frieze of uraei and maat-feathers of the coffin a feature occuring at the middle of the 21st dynasty and onwards. The scenes of the coffin exterior (cf. Englund 1974, pp. 37–69) show a great variety and are traditional and typical of the first half of the dynasty whereas the coffins of the second half show less variety and tend to depict only offering scenes. The large goddess of the interior is typical of the first half whereas coffins of the second half show a richer variety of interior decoration. The stylistic criteria thus point to an earlier date than that indicated by the other finds. If we admit the hypothesis of the intricate chronology of the twenty-first dynasty as presented by Kitchen (1973) and compare it to the stylistic criteria we have to suppose that the coffin was manufactured well before the death of Khonsu-mes, which was in keeping with the old Egyptian tradition that tombs and tomb equipment had to be prepared well in advance.

What the Images Evoke

For the Egyptian thinking death was not an end but a passage to another life. All funerary imagery and texts were intended to describe the transition and facilitate it by their evocative force.

The coffin is the mother who conceives the dead in order to bear him to the new life. The coffin is called 'mother' (Schott 1965, p. 81–87) and it is a mother goddess that is depicted here on the bottom of the coffin. She is one of the many manifestations of the mother goddess, here called the West, because the necropolis receiving the dead was traditionally situated on the west bank of the Nile where the sun sets.

The passage from death to life is indicated on the mummy board. On the bottom of the board we have

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Isis and Nephthys depicted as wailing women lamenting their dead brother Osiris. The dead goes into one of the roles prefigured by the myth of Osiris. He becomes an Osiris, Osiris the wab-priest of Mut, the scribe in the house of Amon, Khonsu-mes, the justified. As such he is depicted in the scene above. This is the image of the venerated dead identified as Osiris according to the hieroglyph on his head. The next scenes show the falcon god Ptah-Sokaris who is a divinity of the necropolis. The land of Sokaris is the darkest and deepest part of the Netherworld, a border land between the created world and chaos. It is in this border area of impenetrable darkness in which the structures of creation are no longer discernable that transformation is possible. The uttermost darkness contains light and as light is potentially present there so is the possibility of a new creation, of new life (Amduat 5th hour, see Hornung 1963).

The following scenes show Osiris enthroned, triumphant. Osiris is the force of nature that apparently dies away but in itself contains the power of resurrection like the grain of cereal. This power shall come to a new existence through the mother principle that is again represented in the kneeling goddess with her wings spread out in protection.

Self-generation and rebirth were themes dear to Egyptian thinking. They saw another representation of this power in the cycle of the sun, Re. Most of their theological speculations were focused on the problem of resurrection and, particularly during the New Kingdom, on the co-dependence of Osiris and Re (cf. Englund 1978, pp. 205–211), the two mythical and iconographic spheres of the self-generating and resurrective power. This coffin ensemble that belongs to the end of this period follows up this tradition. The two smaller goddesses with spread wings who are yet other expressions of the envelopping mother principle, surround two Ba-birds, a scarab, and a sun disk. This evokes a passage of the 17th chapter of the Book of the Dead (see e.g. Barguet 1967; Hornung 1979) where it is said that the Ba of Osiris met the Ba of Re and that the two embraced each other and gave rise to the One with two Bas in whom are Shu and Tefnut, i.e. the divinity of creation and thus the new creation, the rebirth can take place, and the scarab, the young sun, can pass the horizon and reappear in splendour.

All the details of the scenes (cf. Englund 1974) point in the same direction and evoke the forces necessary for the apotheosis.

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Ein anthropoider Sarg des Hapimen, Sohnes der Ptahirdis

Beate George

Im Jahre 1980 wurde der ägyptischen Abteilung des Medelhavsmuseet ein schöner, wohlerhaltener Mumiensarg aus dem Besitz des früheren schwedischen Botschafters in Ägypten, Adolf Croneborg, zum Geschenk gemacht. Croneborg selbst hatte den Sarg 1966 in Kairo mit Hilfe der ägyptischen Altertümerverwaltung ausgewählt und ihn als Abschiedsgeschenk der dort akkreditierten Diplomaten erhalten, als er im selben Jahr Ägypten verliess. Laut Angabe ist der Sarg 1964 in Mitrahine gefunden worden. Die Masse dieses Sarges MME 1980:2 sind: 182,5 cm Höhe, 45 cm Schulterbreite, 30 cm Breite am Fussende, 34 cm Tiefe von Sargkasten und Deckel. Der ganze Sarg steht auf einem an Deckel bzw. Sargkasten angearbeiteten Untersatz oder Sockel, der 30 cm Breite, 45 cm Tiefe und 11 cm Höhe misst. Das Material ist Holz, das auf der Aussenseite mit einer Stuckschicht überzogen und bemalt ist; das Sarginnere und die Unterseite des Sockels sind undekoriert. Kleine Schäden sind an Stellen, wo die Farbe sich vom Grunde löste, repariert worden, als der Sarg 1980 in den Besitz des Museums überging. Nach einem Foto aus dem Jahre 1967 zu urteilen, sind bereits zwischen 1967 und 1980 kleinere Ausbesserungen im gemalten Dekor vorgenommen worden.

Die Farbskala umfasst wenige gedämpfte Töne: auf hellem crèmefarbenem Grund ist der Dekor in ungleichmässig deckendem türkis, blauschwarz, schwarz, rotbraun und hellgelb aufgetragen. Auffallend ist die sorgfältige Ausführung der Bemalung und die regelmässige und klare Gliederung in verschiedene Zonen. Die Vorderseite des Deckels ist in drei Hauptfelder eingeteilt: die durch die schwere Perücke und das türkisfarbene Gesicht besonders akzentuierte Kopfpartie, einen Mittelteil mit breitem Halskragen und der Figur einer geflügelten Göttin und einen dritten und umfangreichsten Abschnitt, der auch die Füsse umfasst und die Darstellungen verschiedener Gottheiten sowie Inschriften enthält. Die lange dreiteilige, unten gerade abschliessende Perücke ist auf hellem Grund in den Farben türkis, rotbraun und blauschwarz gestreift. Das Gesicht und die grossen Ohren sind türkis bemalt, wobei schwarze Linien Details wie Augenbrauen, Augenumrandung, Pupillen, Ohrenkonturen wiedergeben. Auch die Lippen waren wohl ursprünglich – nach Resten zu urteilen – schwarz umrandet; Bestossungen und Abblätterungen lassen den Mund jetzt etwas diffus erscheinen. Beherrscht wird das Gesicht ganz von den grossen mandelförmigen Augen mit stark vorgewölbten Oberlidern und leuchtend hellen Augäpfeln. Der künstliche Bart trägt ein türkises Fischgrätmuster auf hellem Grund. Rechts und links von ihm scheint die türkise Farbe unterm Kinn einen blossen Hals wiederzugeben, während die braunroten und blauschwarzen Querstriche unterhalb davon möglicherweise Schmuck andeuten. Ein Prachtstück ist der breite Halskragen, der unterhalb von Perücke und Bart die Brust bedeckt. Er besteht aus sieben Reihen von Schmuckelementen, die ihrerseits drei verschiedenen Typen angehören: 1) drei Reihen bestehen aus abwechselnd aufrechten und auf die Spitze gestellten türkisfarbenen bzw. rotbraun schraffierten Dreiecken; 2) diese wechseln ab mit drei Reihen von Rosetten mit gelbem Mittelpunkt und weissen Blättern auf türkisen bzw. seltener rotbraunen rechteckigen Feldern. Diese Rosetten sind ein typischer Bestandteil spätzeitlicher Halskragen.[1] Sie kommen auch auf Särgen aus der Oase el Hibeh, die der saitisch-persischen Zeit angehören, vor.[2] Den unteren Abschluss bildet 3) eine Reihe schwarz umrandeter türkiser tropfenförmiger Perlen. Alle diese sieben Reihen

1–2. Hapimens Sarg, Vorderseite und Rückseite

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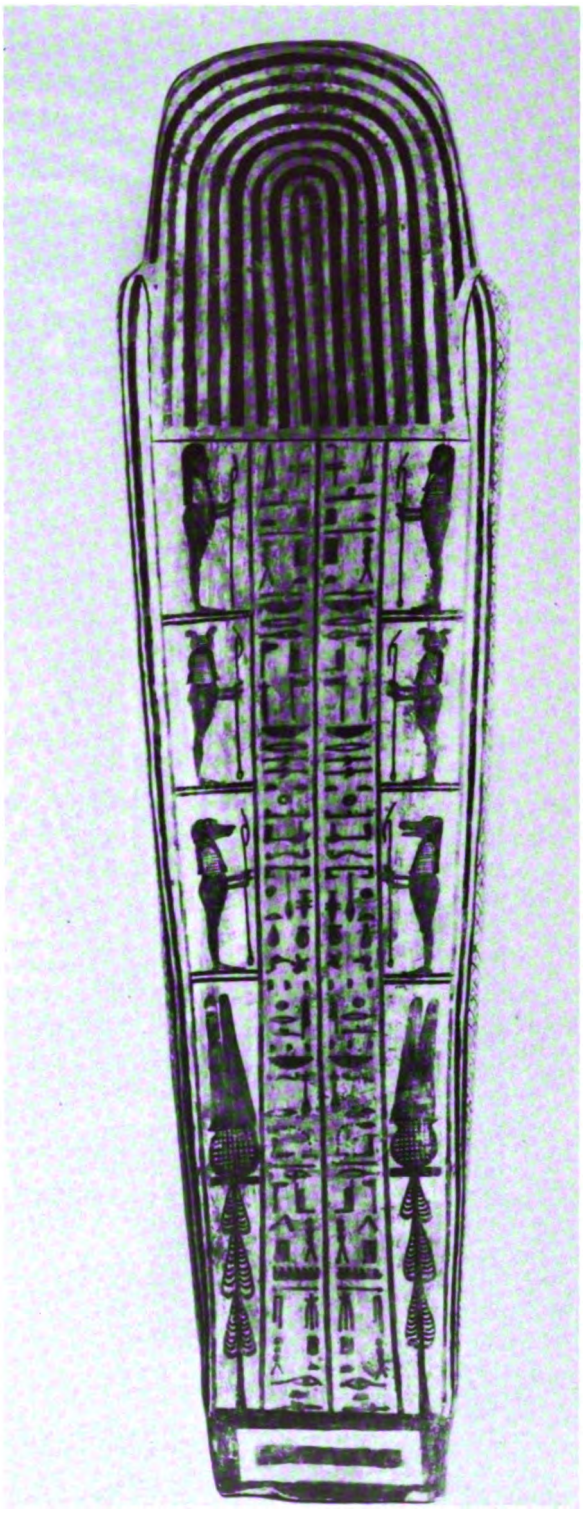

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Links, 3. Gesicht und Halskragen. *Oben*, 4. Der linke Abschluss des Halskragens. *Unten*, 5. Die Göttin Nut

sind jeweils durch drei waagerechte Linien schwarz-türkis-schwarz auf hellem Grund voneinander getrennt. Zu den Schultern hin werden die Perlenstränge von Stegen zusammengehalten und von sonnenbekrönten Falkenköpfen abgeschlossen. Die Stege bestehen aus türkisen und rotbraunen Rechtecken mit zwei blauschwarzen Strichen auf hellem Grund dazwischen. Das Falkengefieder ist durch dasselbe Streifenmuster wie die Perücke wiedergegeben. Die Details des Vogelkopfes sind schwarz gezeichnet, die Sonnenscheibe ist rotbraun.

Unterhalb dieses prachtvollen Halsschmuckes hockt eine Göttin mit weit ausgebreiteten Flügeln. Sie hält eine blauschwarze Maat-Feder in jeder Hand und trägt eine rotbraune Sonnenscheibe auf der blauschwarzen Perücke, die von einem rotbraunen Band zusammengehalten wird. Es handelt sich sicher um Nut, die auch im Text erwähnt ist, obwohl sie nicht ihr Schriftzeichen, den runden *nw*-Topf, sondern eine Sonnenscheibe auf dem Kopf trägt. Auf einem Kopenhagener Sarg ist ihr Name in diese Scheibe eingeschrieben.[3] Gesicht und Körperteile sind hellbeige gehalten mit schwarzen Details wie Auge und Brustwarze. Auch Oberarm-, Arm- und Fussbänder sind schematisch durch schwarze Striche und Punkte angedeutet. Der Halskragen ist undifferenziert rotbraun wiedergegeben, das lange eng anliegende Kleid türkis. Die Federmasse der Flügel ist von oben nach unten fünffach gegliedert: 1) rotbraune Punkte unter den Armen der Göttin, 2) eine undifferenzierte türkise Masse, 3) rotbraune kurze Federn, 4) türkise längere Federn, 5) abwechselnd eine Anzahl türkiser, rotbrauner und blauschwarzer langer Federn.

Unterhalb dieser horizontal gegliederten Zone von Halskragen und Nutbild beginnt – sorgfältig durch Stri-

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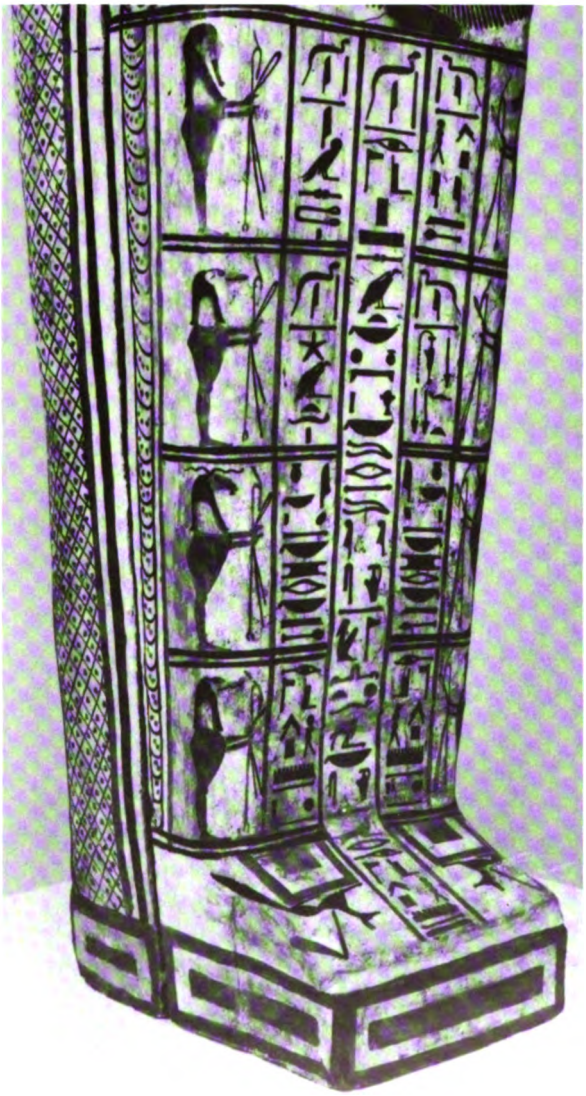
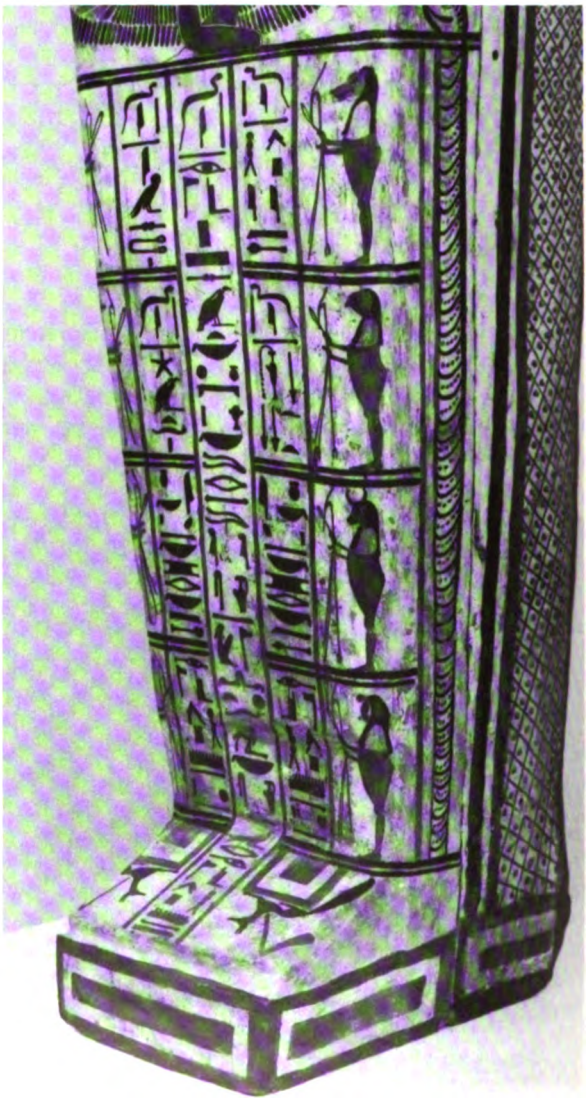
che abgetrennt – das vertikal eingeteilte Feld mit Inschriften und verschiedenen Gottheiten. Die Inschriften bestehen aus drei vertikalen Zeilen, türkis in der Mitte, blauschwarz rechts und links. Daran schliessen sich zu den Seiten hin acht mumiengestaltige Gottheiten und zwei Schakale an. Dieselbe Farbskala wie bisher ist auch hier verwendet: türkise Gesichter und Arme, blauschwarze Perücken, Hörner und Bärte, crèmefarbene Oberkörper, rotbraune Unterkörper, türkise Szepter, rotbraune Schlingen. Die Schakale auf der Fusspartie sind blauschwarz, ihre Wedel rotbraun mit türkisen Griffen. Ihre Schreine sind – ähnlich wie der Sockel des ganzen Sarges – rotbraun umrandet und mit einem türkisen Rechteck auf hellem Grund versehen. Diese ganze Bild- und Textzone wird an den Seiten des Deckels von je einer aufrecht stehenden Schlange eingeschlossen. Der Schlangenkörper ist – wie ein Regenwurm – aus blauschwarz, an der Bauchseite rotbraun gezeichneten Segmenten mit türkisen Punkten darin zusammengesetzt.

Die Seiten des Sargkastens sind mit einem rotbraunen Gittermuster mit türkisen Punkten darin, vielleicht einer Art Schmucknetz, dekoriert. Die Unterseite schliesslich ist zwischen Perücke und Fussockel sehr klar in drei vertikale Streifen eingeteilt: zwei türkise Inschriftzeilen in der Mitte, je drei Gottheiten und ein

6. Vorderseite, untere Hälfte, die vier Götter rechts



7. Vorderseite, untere Hälfte, die vier Götter links



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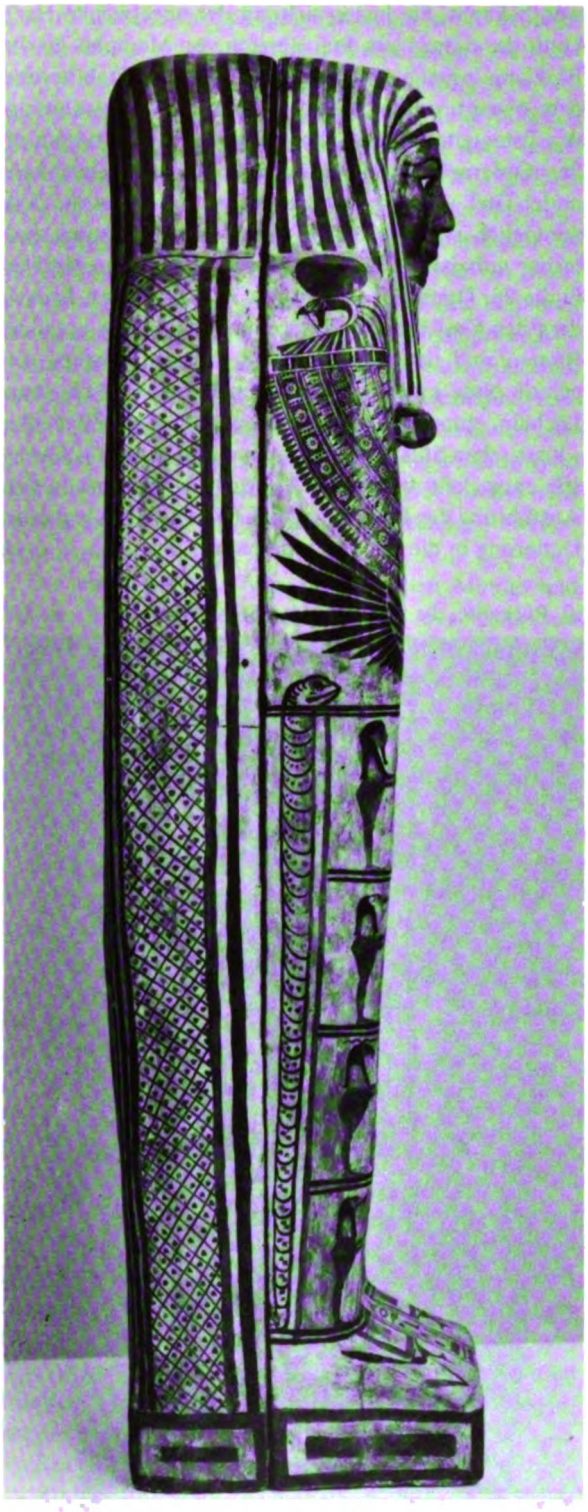
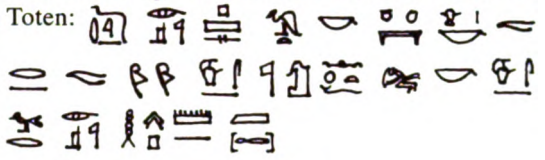


8. Die rechte Seite

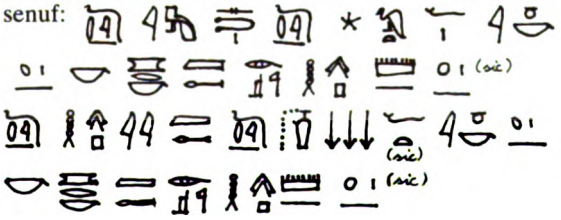
Götteremblem rechts und links vom Text. Gottheiten und Hierogyphen sind in denselben Farben wie auf dem Deckel ausgeführt, die Götter halten jedoch nur ein Szepter in den Händen, und der crèmefarbene Oberkörper ist mit einem türkisen Strichmuster versehen. Die Götterembleme sind in rotbraun mit türkisen Federn ausgeführt. Die Gottheiten tragen im oberen Register einen Menschenkopf, im mittleren zwei Uräen mit blauschwarzen waagerechten Strichen dazwischen anstelle des Kopfes und zuunterst wohl einen Affenkopf bzw. einen Krokodilkopf mit geöffnetem Maul.

Bilder und Inschriften enthalten auch sonst bekannte, vielfach variierte Vorstellungen. Die mittlere Textzeile auf dem Sargdeckel ist eine Rede des Osiris an den Toten:



Worte sprechen von Osiris: schützend breitet sich deine Mutter Nut über dich im Namen der Maati. Sie gesellt sich zu dem Gott, ohne dass du einen Feind hast. Sie gesellt sich zu dem Grossen, Osiris Hapimen, dem Gerechtfertigten.

Die beiden Zeilen rechts und links von der mittleren enthalten Worte der vier Horussöhne, auf der rechten Sargseite von dem menschenköpfigen Amset und dem schakalköpfigen Duamutef, auf der linken von dem pavianköpfigen Hapi und dem falkenköpfigen Kebehsenuf:



Worte sprechen von Amset, Worte sprechen von Duamutef: ich bin dein geliebter Sohn, gerechtfertigt, Osiris Hapimen, Sohn von (?) ... Worte sprechen von Hapi, Worte sprechen von Kebehsenuf: ich bin dein geliebter Sohn, gerechtfertigt, Osiris Hapimen, Sohn von (?) ...

Die vier Gottheiten in den Registern unter den Horussöhnen tragen auf der rechten Sargseite einen Widder- bzw. Krokodilkopf, auf der linken einen Stier- bzw. Schlangenkopf mit Perücke. Ihre Namen oder Funktionen sind nicht erwähnt.

Die Rückseite des Sarges – d.h. die Unterseite des

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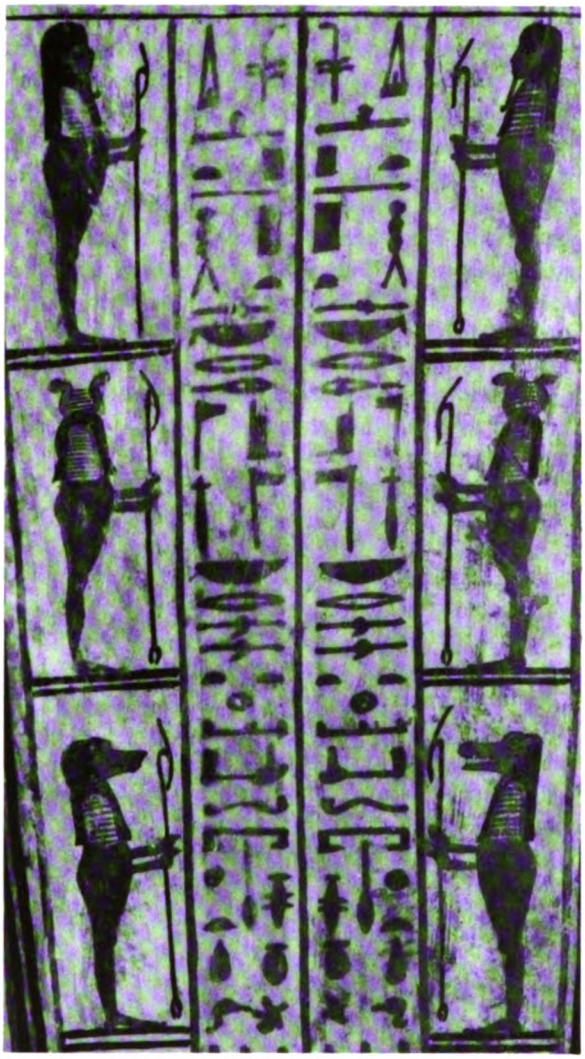


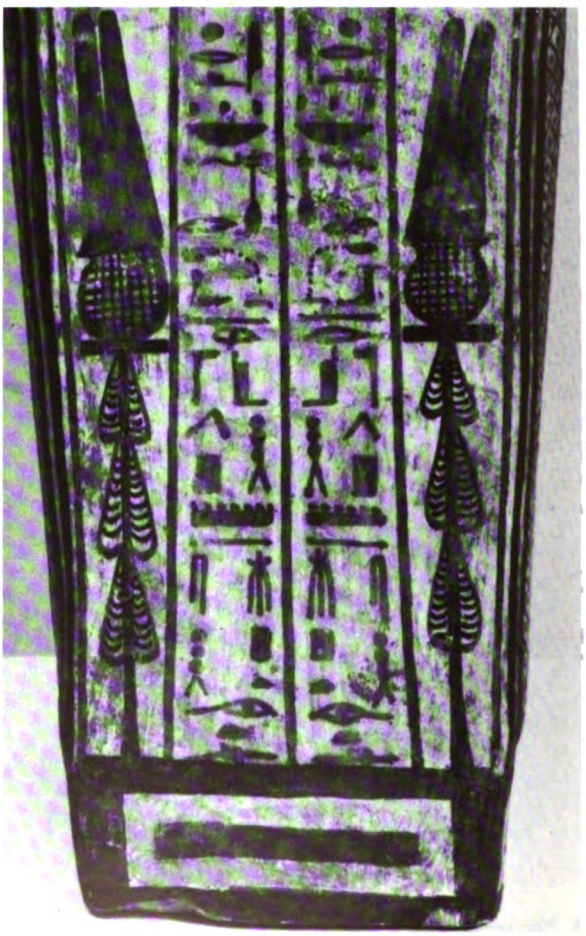
9. Rückseite, die sechs Götter

Sargkastens – trägt zweimal das übliche Gebet mit der Bitte um Opfergaben:

Ein Opfer, das der König gibt dem Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, dem grossen Gott, Herrn von Rosetau, dass er gebe ein Totenopfer von Brot und Bier, Rinder- und Vogelfleisch und allen vollkommenen und reinen Sachen dem Osiris Hapimen, geboren von Ptah-irdis.

Die beiden Namen Hapimen (*Ranke* I 237, 13) und Ptahirdis (*Ranke* I 138, 17) sind beide aus der Spätzeit wohlbekannt. Sie lassen sich mit der angeblichen Herkunft des Sarges aus dem Bereich von Memphis gut in Einklang bringen, wo sowohl der Apis als Ptah besonders verehrt wurden. Dazu passt auch die Erwähnung des Totengottes Ptah-Sokar-Osiris und von Rosetau in den Opfergebeten. Leider trägt der Sargbesitzer keinerlei Titel, so dass eine nähere Identifizierung zur Zeit unmöglich ist; weitere Teile seiner Grabausrüstung sind bisher unbekannt.[4] Eine exaktere Datierung, nämlich in die 26. Dynastie, erlaubt der Stil des Sarges, besonders des Gesichtes: die Augenpartie mit den geraden Brauen und den grossen weitgeöffneten Augen, die gerade Nase und die in den Mundwinkeln leicht zum Lächeln emporgezogenen Lippen nehmen Züge des „klassischen Stils" auf, wie sie in der 12. und 18. Dynastie entwickelt worden sind.[5] Auch die Sorgfalt in der Ausführung des Dekors und der Hieroglyphen legt eine Datierung in die 26. Dynastie nahe.

10. Rückseite, die zwei Göttersymbole unten



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Die religiöse Symbolik der verschiedenen Dekorelemente des Sarges des Hapimen ist eine nähere Betrachtung wert. An diesem Einzelfall soll im folgenden versucht werden, den Dekor aus seinem altägyptischen Zusammenhang heraus zu verstehen. Bei der Vielfalt und Mannigfaltigkeit von Sargschmuck überhaupt können keine auf alle Särge übertragbaren Ergebnisse erwartet werden, vielmehr muss bei jedem einzelnen mit Modifikationen im Dekor und damit auch bei der Interpretation gerechnet werden.[6] Im Falle des Hapimen besteht eine Schwierigkeit darin, dass die ursprüngliche Anzahl seiner Särge und ihr gesamtes Dekorprogramm nicht bekannt sind. Die Frage nach der Beziehung zwischen Text- und Bilddekor und den verschiedenen Särgen oder gar anderen Teilen der Grabausrüstung kann deshalb hier nicht behandelt werden. Der Grösse nach könnte es sich um den – von innen gerechnet – zweiten Sarg handeln.

Die anthropoiden Särge bilden neben Mumie und Statue einen weiteren Bestandteil in der Kette von Vorkehrungen, die dem Toten Schutz beim Übergang ins Jenseits und die Möglichkeit neuen Lebens verbürgen sollen. Die Mumiengestalt des Sarges des Hapimen, der Zeremonialbart und die türkis-grüne Gesichtsfarbe weisen ihn selbst als Osiris aus, was auch die Inschriften tun, die ihn „Osiris Hapimen" nennen.

Der breite Halskragen (*wsḫ*) ist nicht nur die Wiedergabe eines kostbaren Schmuckstückes aus Edelmetall mit Perlen aus Halbedelsteinen oder Fayence, sondern auch ein Amulett, das nach dem spätzeitlichen Totenbuchspruch 158 dem Toten mitgegeben werden soll. Ein derartiges kleinformatiges Amulett aus Gold und mit Spruch 158 versehen ist z.B. aus saitischer Zeit erhalten.[7] Allgemein kann der Halskragen als „zauberreich" (*wr ḥkꜣ.w*) und „Herr der Ewigkeit" (*nb ḏ.t*) bezeichnet werden.[8] Noch ausführlichere Details zur Funktion dieses Schmuckes enthält aber die Szene 54 des Mundöffnungsrituals.[9] Dieses Ritual konnte an Götterstatuen vollzogen werden, es konnte aber auch zur Belebung von Totenstatuen, Mumiensärgen und Mumien verwandt werden, wie etwa Totenbuchspruch 23 bezeugt. Szene 54 der Mundöffnung ist auch im täglichen Tempelritual vorhanden.[10] Sie handelt von der Symbolik des Darbringens des Halskragens durch Priester, ausgedrückt mit Hilfe mythologischer Anspielungen auf die Götter von Heliopolis und ihr Tun:

Rede des *ḫrj-ḥbt; sm,* Geben des *wsḫ*-Kragens.
Rede: Heil dir, Atum. Heil dir, Chepre. Du wurdest hoch als Hügel.
Du erschienst als Benben-Stein im Hause des Benben in Heliopolis.
Du spiest aus als Schu, du spiest aus als Tefnut.
Du legtest deine Arme um sie als Arm deines Ka, damit dein Ka in ihnen sei.
Atum! Lege deine Arme um NN, damit sie lebt mit ihrem Ka ewiglich.
O Atum! Du hast Schu und Tefnut geschützt. (...)

Das Umlegen und Ausbreiten des Kragens auf der Brust wird hier mythologisch als Umarmung des ersten Götterpaares durch den Urgott Atum gedeutet, als Übertragung seiner göttlichen Lebenskräfte, seines Ka, auf Schu und Tefnut. Übertragen auf den Toten bedeutet dies die Rückführung seiner Lebenskräfte in Gestalt seines Ka zu ihm. Das schützende Umfangen durch den Ka – das Wort wird ja mit einem Paar geöffneter Arme geschrieben – wird symbolisch durch das Ausbreiten des Halskragens auf der Brust des Toten oder der Statue nach- oder richtiger vor-geahmt. Hier tritt der Amulettcharakter des Schmuckes deutlich zutage und ebenso das Anliegen aller Grabbeigaben, nämlich Schutz und neues Leben zu gewähren. In dem anscheinend ganz einfachen vordergründigen Akt des Schmükkens mit dem Halskragen können so die Beschützung des Toten und seine Wiederbelebung durch seinen Ka symbolisch ausgedrückt werden.

Auch im Falle der Nut ist das schützende Umschliessen, sich über jemanden ausbreiten (*pśś*) – hier mit ihren geflügelten Armen – für den Toten wichtig. Ein ungewöhnlicher spätzeitlicher Text auf einem Herzskarabäus schildert diesen Tatbestand sehr schön:[11]

Ich bin gekommen, ich bringe dir dar, ich bin deine Leiterin Nut.
Ich öffne meinen Flügel und breite ihn über dich.
Ich befestige dein Herz an seinem Platz, es wird nicht aus deinem Sarge fortgenommen werden, bis du auferstehst, o NN.

Diese Beziehung der Nut zum Herzen des Toten ist hier interessant, weil auf Hapimens Sarg der Nut ja der Beiname Maati zugelegt ist. Maati, die beiden Wahrheiten oder die vollkommene Wahrheit,[12] lässt unmittelbar an eine der schwersten Prüfungen des Toten im Jenseits, nämlich die Wägung seines Herzens gegen die Wahrheit im Totengericht denken, die in der Halle der Maati (Totenbuchspruch 125) stattfindet. Wenn die Schützerin Nut das Herz an seinem Platz befestigt bzw. wie bei Hapimen sich in ihrem Namen Maati zu dem vergöttlichten Toten gesellt, der keinen Feind hat, so ist ihr Bild auf dem Sarge eine Garantie dafür, dass er die schwierige Prüfung durch das Gericht als Gerechtfertigter besteht. Auch im Falle der Nut ebenso wie

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beim Halskragen kommt noch ein weiterer Aspekt hinzu, nämlich die Neugeburt des Toten. Ist doch Nut die Mutter des Gottes Osiris und somit auch die Mutter des Osiris Hapimen und ausserdem auch die Mutter des Re, den sie jeden Tag neu hervorbringt, und das Schicksal dieser beiden Götter hofft der Tote nachzuvollziehen.

Weiter spielen die vier Horussöhne eine wichtige wohlbekannte Rolle für den Toten. Sie stehen zu verschiedenen leiblich-seelischen Aspekten und Erscheinungsformen des Menschen in Beziehung. Auf Hapimens Sarg bezeichnen sie sich nur ganz kurz als seine Söhne, doch ist aus anderen Texten wie auch aus der Balsamierungspraxis Genaueres bekannt: sie sind Wächter bei der Leiche und Beschützer der in den Kanopen beigesetzten Eingeweide, die sogar mit ihnen identifiziert werden. Als Beispiel kann die Rede des Kebehsenuf in Totenbuchspruch 151, 85 ff dienen:[13]

> Ich bin (dein Sohn) Kebehsenuf, ich bin gekommen,
> damit ich dein Schutz sei,
> ich habe dir deine Knochen vereinigt und habe dir
> deine Glieder zusammengefügt.
> Ich habe dir dein Herz gebracht und setze es dir an
> seinen Platz in deinem Leibe.
> Ich habe dein Haus befestigt hinter dir, so dass du
> lebendig bleibst ewiglich.

In den Kanopen schützt gewöhnlich der menschenköpfige Amset die Leber, der pavianköpfige Hapi die Lunge, der schakalköpfige Duamutef den Magen und der falkenköpfige Kebehsenuf die Gedärme. Ein aufschlussreicher Text im Grabe des Petosiris zeigt eine noch umfassendere Funktion der Horussöhne. Im Zusammenhang mit der Mundöffnung, die am Toten vollzogen wird, bringt ihm Amset seinen Ka, Hapi sein Herz (*jb*), Duamutef seinen Ba und Kebehsenuf seine Mumie (*s ḥ*).[14] Die Identifikation des Toten mit den Horussöhnen ist exemplarisch auf den Stockholmer Kanopen des Wahibremachet ausgedrückt, wo es auf dem Gefäss des Amset heisst:[15]

> Isis sagt: ich töte den Widersacher, ich beschütze
> Amset, der in mir ist. Der Schutz des gerechtfertigten Osiris NN, geboren von NN, ist der Schutz des
> Amset. Osiris NN ist Amset.

Diese Gleichsetzung des Toten mit den Horussöhnen oder umgekehrt diese Vergöttlichung seiner inneren Organe gehört in den Bereich der sogenannten Gliedervergottung, deren Resultat in der Sonnenlitanei so zusammengefasst wird:[16]

> Meine Glieder sind Götter, ich bin gänzlich ein
> Gott, kein Glied von mir ist ohne Gott. Ich trete ein
> als Gott, und ich komme heraus als Gott. Die Götter haben sich in meinen Leib verwandelt, (...)

Derartige Vorstellungen, dass der Leib Aufenthaltsort für alle Götter sei, haben die Ägypter auch räumlich-konkret dargestellt, und zwar besonders deutlich im Buch des Tages und der Nacht.[17] Hier ist der gesamte Kosmos als oberirdische und unterirdische räumliche Sphäre mitsamt seinem zeitlich-zyklischen Ablauf, symbolisiert durch die Sonnenfahrt, in den Leib der Nut verlegt: alle Gottheiten mit ihren verschiedenen Tätigkeiten befinden sich in ihr. Eine Analogie zu diesen Vorstellungen und Bildern mit dem Ziele des Nachvollzugs kann im Dekor des Sarges des Hapimen gesehen werden: die in abgegrenzten Abteilungen befindlichen Götter auf der unteren Hälfte des Deckels und auf der Rückseite des Sarges – obwohl abgesehen von den Horussöhnen namenlos und ohne ausdrücklich beschriebene Funktion – sind als Türhüter bzw. Bewohner verschiedener Lokalitäten der Unterwelt ihrem Aussehen nach aus Totenbuch und verwandten Papyri[18] wohlbekannt. Diese Analogie zwischen dem Leibe der Nut und dem Leibe des Toten, die hier zu zeigen versucht wird, kann der Aussage in Totenbuchspruch 172,86 f zugrundeliegen:

> Der Himmel ist dein Leib, wenn du zur Ruhe gehst,
> und die Unterwelt ist dein Nabel,

wird hier zum Toten gesagt.

Über die riesige Menge der Unterweltsgottheiten enthält die Jenseitsliteratur reichhaltiges Material. Ganze Scharen von ihnen sind z.B. in den Totenbuchsprüchen 144–147 geschildert. Sie sind oft tierköpfige, mit Messern oder Stricken – wie bei Hapimen auf dem Sargdeckel – versehene Wesen oder auch Schlangen, die ja auch bei Hapimen vorkommen, und von dämonischem, Furcht einflössendem Charakter. Schrecklich sind sie jedoch nur für Übeltäter, denen sie den Zutritt zu ihrem Gebiet verwehren. Dem gerechtfertigten Toten dagegen, der ihren Namen kennt, öffnen sie ihre Türen und beschirmen ihn vor Gefahren. Auch wegen des Totenopfers, um das Hapimen auf der Rückseite seines Sarges inmitten der Dämonen ausdrücklich bittet, braucht er wegen dieser schrecklichen Gottheiten keine Angst zu haben:

> Anubis, der bei den Opfern ist, hat befohlen,
> dass dem Osiris NN Opfer zukommen,
> sie sollen ihm nicht fortgenommen werden von den
> Beutemachern,

beruhigt Totenbuchspruch 144, 61 ff, und etwas später (68 f) heisst es:

> Der Schadenstifter soll ihn nicht angreifen,

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und die Torwächter sollen ihn nicht bedrängen.

Sehr aufschlussreich für das praktische Funktionieren von Spruch 144 ist die Nachschrift, die unter anderem besagt (9 ff):

Du sollst (es) tun über einem Abbild dieses Verstorbenen, vor ihnen,
so dass er gelangen kann zu jedem Tor von diesen (Wächtern), die aufgemalt sind.
Zu sprechen bei jedem Tor von diesen, die aufgemalt sind.
Jedem von ihnen sind zu opfern ein Stierschenkel,
(...)

Ein entsprechendes dreidimensionales Abbild des Toten mit aufgemalten Wächtern haben wir im Sarge des Hapimen vor uns. Die obige Nachschrift lässt sich fast wie eine Anleitung an einen Sargdekorierer lesen, der sicher, wie von Bildhauern bekannt,[19] auch religiöse Funktionen haben konnte.

Auch die zwei auf einem Schrein liegenden Schakale, die umgekehrt, so dass Hapimen sie richtig sieht, auf die Fusspartie seines Sarges gezeichnet sind, fügen sich in den Kreis der übelabwehrenden, schutzverheissenden Götter, ob es sich nun um Upuaut oder Anubis handelt.[20] Anubis, der Balsamierer, ist ja einer der wichtigsten Helfer des Toten. In Totenbuchspruch 151, 16 ff heisst es von ihm:

(Du) leitest ihn (den Toten) zu den guten Wegen,
du schlägst für ihn die Bande des Seth zurück
und wirfst für ihn seine Feinde unter seine Füsse.

Und 151, 60 ff:

Es spricht Anubis, Gebieter der Gotteshalle,
der auf seinem Berge ist, der Herr des Erhabenen Landes:
Wache auf, du, der auf seinem Berge ist,
dein Angriff ist zusammengebrochen,
denn ich habe deinen Angriff abgewehrt, du Wütender.
Ich bin der Schutz des NN.

Es bleiben noch die zwei Embleme, die unterhalb der Gottheiten auf der Rückseite von Hapimens Sarg angebracht sind. Sie lassen sich nicht eindeutig bestimmen. Am ehesten erinnern sie an ein mit hohen Federn bekröntes *anch*-Zeichen, dessen langer Schaft mit drei schmalen länglichen herzförmigen Gebilden versehen ist. Sie weichen sowohl vom Abydos-Fetisch als auch von Nefertems Lotussymbol ab, die beide in verschiedenen Variationen auf Särgen oft erscheinen.[21] Der all diesen Stäben oder auch Pfeilern wie dem *djed* gemeinsam zugrunde liegende Sinn scheint jedenfalls zu sein, die Wiederaufrichtung und damit Wiederbelebung des Sargbesitzers aus liegender Todesstellung zu sichern. Er soll nicht nur an der unterirdischen Sphäre teilhaben, in die er mit dem Tode eingetreten ist, sondern auch an der oberirdischen himmlischen Region, symbolisiert durch das hohe Federpaar.

So versehen mit Symbolen des Schutzes und der Wiederbelebung kann der Tote von sich mit Totenbuchspruch 180, 91 ff sagen:

Ich bin es, der eintritt, dass er sich in der Unterwelt niederlasse,
der herausgeht und sich niederlässt im Himmel (Nut).
Ich bin der Herr der Thronsitze des Himmels,
der den Gegenhimmel durcheilt im Gefolge des Re.
Meine Opfer sind im Himmel, im Sonnengefilde,
meine Speisen sind in der Erde, im Binsengefilde.
Ich durchwandere die Unterwelt, dem Re gleich,
und ich richte wie Thoth.
Ich wandle nach dem Wunsch meines Herzens,
ich laufe meiner Gangart gemäss
in meiner Würde Dessen mit verborgenem Wesen;
ich habe mich in die Beiden Götter (Osiris und Re) verwandelt.

[1] C. Aldred, Jewels of the Pharaohs, London 1971, Abb. 146 u. S. 241 f.

[2] G. Botti, Le casse di mummie e i sarcofagi da El Hibeh nel Museo Egizio di Firenze, Firenze 1958, z.B. Taf. 5, 26, 27, 28.

[3] O. Koefoed-Petersen, Catalogue des sarcophages et cercueils égyptiens, Copenhague 1951, Taf. LIV 10.

[4] Für die freundliche Mitteilung dieses Tatbestandes sei J. Málek, Oxford, vielmals gedankt.

[5] Cf. hierzu I. Lindblad, Royal Sculpture of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt, Medelhavsmuseet Memoir 5, Stockholm 1984, S. 69, die diese Entwicklung anhand königlicher Skulptur aufzeigt.

[6] Die bisherige Literatur ist bei A. Niwinski im Lexikon der Ägyptologie s.v. Sarg gesammelt. Hinzugekommen ist noch M. Verner, Ägyptische Särge in den Museen und Sammlungen der Tschechoslowakei, CAA Lieferung 1, Praha 1982. Cf. auch H. Bonnet, Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte, Berlin 1952, s.v. Sarg.

[7] G. Maspero, Fouilles autour de la pyramide d'Ounas, ASAE 3, 1902, 1 ff u. Taf. II 1. Auch G. Jéquier, Les frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire, MIFAO 47, 1921, 70.

[8] Jéquier, op.cit., 66.

[9] E. Otto, Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual, Wiesbaden 1960, I 131 f, II 119 f.

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[10] Idem, Zur Überlieferung eines Pyramidenspruches, in: Studi in memoria di I. Rosellini, Pisa 1955, 225 ff.
[11] É. Drioton, Une formule inédite sur un scarabée de coeur, BIFAO 61, 1942, 99 ff.
[12] So E. Hornung, Das Totenbuch der Ägypter, Zürich-München 1979, 492 f.
[13] Hier und im folgenden wird das Totenbuch nach Hornung, op.cit. zitiert.
[14] G. Lefebvre, Textes du tombeau de Petosiris, ASAE 20, 1920, 207 ff, besonders 220 u. 227 ff.
[15] B. George in: Medelhavsmuseet – en introduktion, Stockholm 1982, 86.
[16] E. Hornung, Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei), Aegyptiaca helvetica 2, 1975, 214 f; 3, 1976, 88. Zur Gliedervergottung ibidem, Zeile 208 ff; auch Totenbuchspruch 42, 151, 172.
[17] A. Piankoff, Le livre du jour et de la nuit, Bibl. d'études 13, Le Caire 1942.
[18] Totenbuchspruch 144–147; A. Piankoff – N. Rambova, Mythological Papyri, Bollingen Series XL 3, New York 1957, z.B. Taf. 4, 11, 20, 26.
[19] W. Barta, Das Selbstzeugnis eines altägyptischen Künstlers, MÄS 22, Berlin 1970; Otto, op.cit. in Anm. 9.
[20] Bonnet, op.cit., s.v. Anubis, Upuaut.
[21] V. Schmidt, Sarkofager, mumiekister, og mumiehylstre i det gamle Aegypten, København 1919, z.B. Abb. 717–719, 721, 770, 781, 1134, 1242.

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Five Greek Gold Earrings in the Medelhavsmuseet

Mary Blomberg

The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, Medelhavsmuseet, received this year from its Association of Friends a gold earring decorated with the head of a child. The gift increases to five the museum's collection of Greek earrings. The purpose of the present article is not only to discuss in detail the more unusual of these earrings, the recent acquistion with the head of a child, but also to present the four hitherto unpublished pieces, three of which have the head of a young bull and the other that of an antelope.

Head finials on jewellery are known in the Greek world from the Early Helladic Period.[1] The pin with head of an antelope found at Thyreatis and dating to c. 2000 B.C. is quite similar in decorative treatment and intended use to the Hellenistic pin (fig. 8) from the same workshop as our earring with child's head (see below). Animal and human heads have been found on Mycenaean jewellery from the Greek mainland, and heads of bulls as finials on earrings have been found in dated Mycenaean contexts on Cyprus.[2] The remains are few, but such as they are they witness to continuity in the employment of head finials in the Greek world from the Early Helladic Period down to the Hellenistic Age.[3] Some pieces from the Classical Period display in fully articulated form many of the decorative elements favoured in the Hellenistic Period, for example, the beaded and spooled wires used for collars, the twisted hoops, and the outlined tongues.[4]

Greek earrings with head finials have been found in large numbers. The most popular were those with tapering twisted wire hoops and they occur from the 4th to the 2nd centuries B.C. (see below). The type most likely comes from the Persian Empire; Maxwell-Hyslop gives evidence suggesting that it may have originated in Luristan as early as the 5th century B.C.[5] These earrings can be divided into three classes according to the kind of head: human, animal or monster.

The class of animals is by far the largest with lions in the majority (c. 40 % of all animals). Bovines – oxen, bulls and calves – rank second in popularity in this class (c. 30 %). Antelopes are the third most popular animal (c. 20 %). Such an earring in use is illustrated on a 3rd century Etruscan bronze mirror cover in Leningrad.[6]

Earrings with human heads are of four types: maenads – identifiable by the vine leaves and grapes which deck their hair, women without attributes to identify them specifically, Dionysos and children. Representations of maenads are by far the most numerous (62 %). The other women (33 %) sometimes wear crowns indicating that they could be goddesses or brides (see below). There are three heads of Dionysos (2 %) and possibly five of children (3 %).[7]

Earring with human head

Our earring with the head of a child is of the type with tapering twisted wire hoop terminating at the broader end with a human head (figs. 1–5).[8] The hoop has been formed by twisting four smooth wires;[9] the hook at the narrower end is broken off. The transition from the hoop to the head is effected by a collar consisting of a spooled wire on either side of a concave ring. The diameter of the lower wire is smaller than that of the one nearest the head. The loop for attachment has been placed at the back of the head and is also concave (fig. 4).

The face of the child is round with broad smooth contours. The tip of the nose and the slightly pouting lips lie in a cavity formed by the protruding cheeks and chin (fig. 1). As a result the highest points of the facial

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Fig. 1. MM 1985:1, H. 2.30 cm, Wt. 3.585 g.

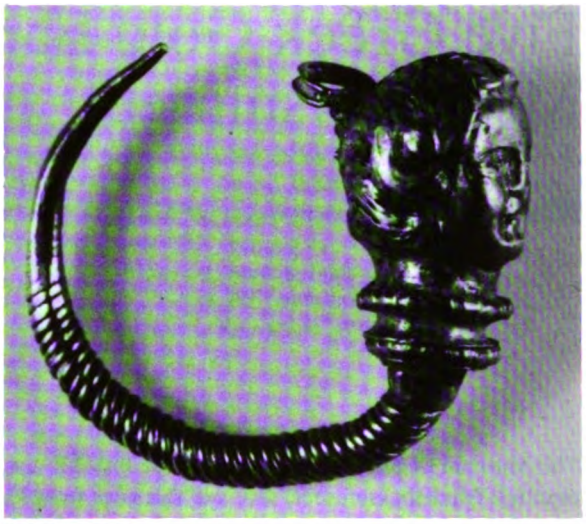

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 2

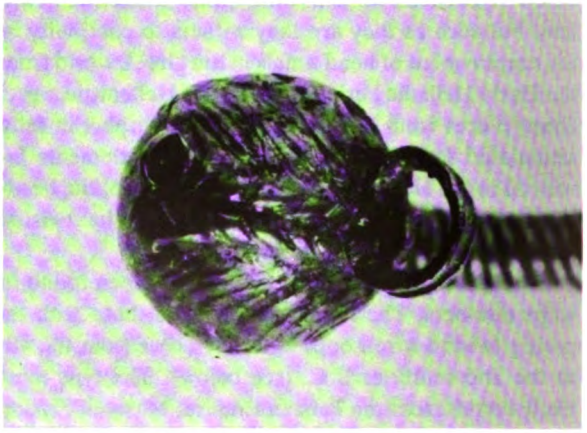

Fig. 5

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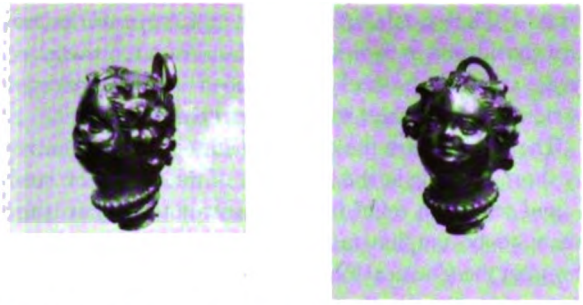

Fig. 6 a–b. Basel market. Photo courtesy H. Cahn

features – those of the forehead, cheeks, nose tip, lips and chin – all lie nearly in the same plane. The effect is a distinctively flat profile (figs. 3, 4). Existing parallels indicate that this is a stylistic feature rather than the result of accident (see below). The eyes have depressions in the center.

A braid in relief begins at the center of the forehead and ends just below the loop where there is now a small hole (figs. 1, 2). The three locks which frame the face on each side are in lower relief than the braid and the ones on the left side are more worn than those on the right (figs. 3, 4). The rest of the hair is chased in a symmetrical pattern of wavy lines.

The head has been formed in the usual way from two hollow halves, back and front, soldered over the ears. The seam has been reworked but is still discernible, especially on the neck and collar (figs. 3, 4). It is likely that the two halves were worked over separate moulds for the back and front, and the details chased. These earrings with human head finials seem to be unique pieces, suggesting that the moulds were made specially for each pair and thus were probably of wood.

Greek earrings with heads of children are rare. Only four others exist to my knowledge. One is on the Basel market, a pair is in the Antikenmuseen in Berlin, and one was formerly in the De Clercq Collection.[10]

The Basel child (fig. 6), aside from the more plastic treatment of the hair, is stylistically closer to the one in Stockholm. It has similar round full features, depressed area in the center of the each eye, braid in the center of the head and the same collar below the neck; this type of collar is rare.

The Berlin pair of earrings is a product of higher quality than the examples in Stockholm and Basel, showing greater attention to detail and a more elaborate transition between the hoop and the child's neck (fig. 7). Although the faces also have flattened profiles

Fig. 7. Berlin, Antikenmuseum 31266. Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Photo courtesy of the Museum

they are otherwise not close stylistically to the Stockholm and Basel figures. The chasing of details shows a very different touch and the treatment of the eyebrows and eyes is quite unlike that of the Stockholm child.

The pin with head of a maenad (fig. 8), which may be a straightened earring, is also closely related to the Stockholm figure.[11] It has the same treatment of the collar and similar flat profile. The plastic rendering of the hair places the pin even closer stylistically to the Basel child (fig. 6). The similarities displayed by these three pieces are of such a character as to indicate that they were made in the same workshop. The rarity of the motif suggests that the Berlin pair may also have been made there, but more study of Greek jewellery is needed before a decision can be made on this point.

Our earring is most likely from the late 4th–3rd century B.C. (see below).

Fig. 8. Private Collection. Photo courtesy H. Cahn

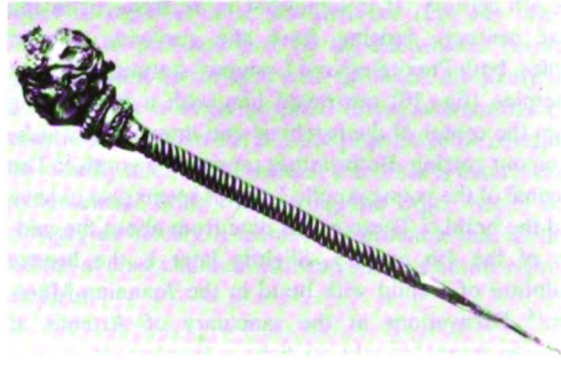

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Fig. 9. London, British Museum 407. Caryatid from the Erechtheum, c. 410 B.C. Permission to publish courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

The braid and its interpretation

The braid on top of the head occurs on other Greek works of art and may help us to identify the child. Its occurrence before the Hellenistic Period seems to be rare. The earliest appearance is on three of the maidens from the southwest porch of the Erechtheum (fig. 9). To my knowledge these are the only examples of it in the 5th century. It is somewhat more frequent in the next century. Judging from the surviving Roman copies, both Praxiteles' and Lysippus' statues of Eros at Thespiae (fig. 10) portrayed him with a braid rising from the center of the forehead and drawn backwards, as on our earring. Both statues represent a youth.[12] The original of the young Apollo Lykeios seems also to have had the braid.[13] These works date from about the middle of the 4th century. Slightly later is the bronze sculpture of a child with braid in the Joannina Museum.[14] Excavations at the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron have brought to light a number of marble heads of boys and girls and some of these have the braid.[15] They are dated to the 4th and 3rd centuries and are considered to represent children from ten to eleven years of age who had been placed in the service of Artemis. The greater number are boys.[16]

The braids share the characteristics of being relatively short – ending at the back part of the top of the head – and set off in relief from the surrounding hair; they seem to be emphasized. The figures shown with the braid in the Classical Period may all represent children, none older than twelve years of age. The questionable cases are the maidens from the Erechtheum. Lauter's inclination to identify them as the Arrhephoroi implies the upper age limitation of eleven; he also argues for their youth in his analysis of the figure of his kore C.[17] Their possession of the braid seems to support the interpretation that the korai are children.

The simplest explanation for the braid is that it was one of several possible hair styles for children in ancient times, coming into fashion in the last quarter of the 5th century B.C. There are, however, passages in ancient authors connected with its occurrence which suggest

Fig. 10. London, British Museum 1680. Roman copy of Lysippus' Eros of c. 350 B.C. Permission to publish courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

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another interpretation. A fragment from Aeschylus' *Choephori* has preserved the phrase "braid as foster-wage to Inachos".[18] A passage in Athenaios of Naucratis indicates that the hair intended for dedication to a god or goddess could be grown from the forehead, "He wears his hair long, it being dedicated to the god ... But that is not the reason; no he has a brand on the front of his forehead and wears long hair as a screen".[19] The anecdote comes from Diphilus, a New Comedy poet of the late 4th century B.C. The hair in this case was probably worn in a twist hanging over the forehead as on the *Spinario*. Two of the Erechtheum korai have their hair gathered in a twist just above the forehead.

These passages refer to the religious practice of offering hair to the gods. Such offerings were made for many reasons: in connection with celebrations marking the transition from one state to another as at puberty and marriage, to express deep sorrow, to give thanks, and others. They were made to many gods, among them Artemis.[20]

In view of these considerations it seems possible that the braids and twists worn by young children on the top of the head represent hair being grown to offer at puberty as a "foster-wage", that is, in gratitude for care of the child through the dangerous years of childhood. Such a thank offering to Artemis Paidotrophos (also Kourotrophos), Nurse of Children, seems imminently appropriate. According to Kondis, the role of Artemis as guardian of children was emphasized at Brauron.[21] Thus the heads of children with braids from Brauron may indicate that such an offering was made there. The emphasis placed on the braid in this position on surviving works seems to support this interpretation.

The rarity of the motif in the Classical Period may indicate that at first such an offering was made only in cases of special threat to a child such as delicate health, a bad omen or the like. The style can have come into use later as a fashion for children. This would explain its occurrence on Eros, and on Apollo when shown as a youth. I know of no examples of its occurrence on adults, with the possible exception of the maidens on the Erechtheum (see above).

The representations of Eros in sculpture in the round before the Hellenistic Period are few. I know of three, the two mentioned above, which show him with the braid, and the group *Pothos* by Scopas, which does not have it.[22] I know of no other representations of Eros in any other medium of the Classical Period which show the braid. By the Hellenistic Period, in contrast, there are large numbers of sculptural representations of the winged Eros. Many of these show him with the braid,[23] but some do not. Many portray Eros as a very young child, hardly more than an infant. Despite the fact that Eros is not always shown with the braid, it occurs so often on representations of him in this period that it is proper to consider it as his attribute (fig. 11). This allows us to presume that by the Hellenistic Period representations of children with the braid are likely to be Eros. This is often assumed of representations of anonymous children, but it is not possible to be certain. The identity of children without the braid is even more problematical. Still, considering the other heads on earrings (see below), it seems most probable that in this medium at least children with and without braids represent Eros.

Fig. 11. London, British Museum C 287, 3rd century B.C. Permission to publish courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

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Eros and Dionysos

There is a bust of the winged Eros crowned with grape leaves and clusters as well as ivy on a necklace medallion,[24] reminding us that he sometimes joined the entourage of Dionysos. This raises the question as to whether earrings with human heads constitute a group with special significance.

Margarete Bieber's study of Eros and Dionysos on Kerch vases suggests a possible answer. She argues for a combination in the 4th century B.C. of the celebration of the Lenaia, a Dionysiac festival for women, with that of the wedding feast. She proposes the inauguration of a new cult which was an initiation of well-born brides into the mysteries of both Dionysos and Eros and that it took place at the Lenaion in Attika, the sanctuary of the Maenads.[25] Here then, not long before the first occurrence of earrings with heads of Maenads, other women, Dionysos and children, we have indications on vases of some new celebration of brides which involves Maenads, other women, Dionysos and Eros. The presence of Eros in this context on vases strengthens our presumption that the children on earrings also represent Eros. Such earrings would have been a fitting gift to a young bride in connection with this celebration. The many representations of women not clearly identifiable but in some cases wearing crowns may represent Ariadne and thus indirectly the bride. The widespread occurrence of these earrings could indicate a more extended practice of the new celebration than in Attika.

Earrings with animal heads

The Medelhavsmuseet has three Greek gold earrings with heads of young bulls. Two of these form a pair and were acquired on the Stockholm market (fig. 12).[26] In workmanship they are the most elaborate of the five owned by the museum. The heads are formed from a right and a left half, the usual technique for animal heads as distinguished from the method used for heads of humans (see above), and the details are chased. There is a hole just in front of each ear, no doubt for the insertion of horns; they also would have provided the necessary escape for air during soldering (see below). One of the eyes still has the opaque glass or stone which once animated all four.

The hoops are twisted from a thick plain wire and two narrow beaded wires. The hooked ends are preserved and the loop for attachment has been placed under the animal's chin. The complicated collar is fashioned in the following way. Closest to the head is a unit similar to that on the Eros earring composed of a beaded ring on either side of a concave band. Below this is another unit having in the centre a large smooth convex area which is narrower under the animal's chin and broader below the back of the neck; on either side of this convex area are a smooth ring, two twisted rings formed from two smooth wires, another smooth ring and then closest to the convex surface a row of tongues outlined by beaded wire. Transitional from this unit to the hoop is another row of outlined tongues, now in a poor state of preservation on both earrings. These tongues are considered important in questions of dating.

Parallels to the particular form of twisted hoop are found on a pair of earrings with bull heads in the British Museum.[27] This form of twisted hoop occurs on Greek earrings and bracelets with animal-head finials from the second half of the 4th century and on examples found on Cyprus from the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.[28]

Our pair is likely to be from the 4th century B.C. (see below).

The third earring with head of a young bull is unusual in that its hoop is not formed of twisted wires but rather of rolled gold foil (fig. 13).[29] The head and collar, on the other hand, are typical of a large number of small hoop earrings. The head seems to have been made of left and right halves which are not symmetrical in the back where a vertical seam runs from the base of the right ear down towards the collar. In front a vertical seam runs from the tip of the muzzle up to the tuft of hair between the eyes. A bit of glass or stone remains deep in the left eye. The details of the head are chased and a headstall is indicated over the muzzle. The attachment has been placed below the chin and is slightly concave on its outer surface.

The collar consists of a beaded wire ring nearest the head above a slightly convex band which is narrower under the chin and broader below the back of the head. Below this there is a ring of plain wire and a broad band of pendant tongues outlined with beaded wire. This form of collar is very common. The hoop is inserted into the band of tongues. The rolled foil hoop is clumsily finished and has a raw seam on the inner side. The hook at the end is missing.

There are a few earrings of this type with smooth hoops; most are more carefully finished.[30] There is a pair similar to ours in its roughness in the Victoria and Albert Museum.[31]

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a

b

c

d

Fig. 12 a–d. MM 1985:5 a (on the left) & 5 b (on the right). H. 2.92 cm (a) & 2.76 cm (b). Wt. 4.039 g (a) & 4.403 g (b)

This earring, like the last, is to be dated in the 4th century B.C. (see below).

The antelope earring has most likely been made in the same way as the preceding animal-head earrings (fig.14).[32] The seam from the joining of the two halves is not discernible. The horns seem to have been made of twisted rather than beaded wire, but this is not certain; they have been formed separately and then inserted into holes in front of the ears. The eyes are deeply scored, probably for the setting of stones or glass, but are not perforated as is the case for the preceding earring. The collar is like that of the preceding earring with the possible difference that the lower wire ring also may be beaded. The hoop is formed from four twisted wires which have been drawn out at the end to form a hook.

Parallels to this type of earring are to be found in nearly all large collections of ancient jewellery. Compare, for example, the pair in the collection of the late Dr. Carl Kempe in Stockholm.[33]

The animal portrayed here is sometimes called gazelle, goat, or ibex – the Achaemenid royal animal; the

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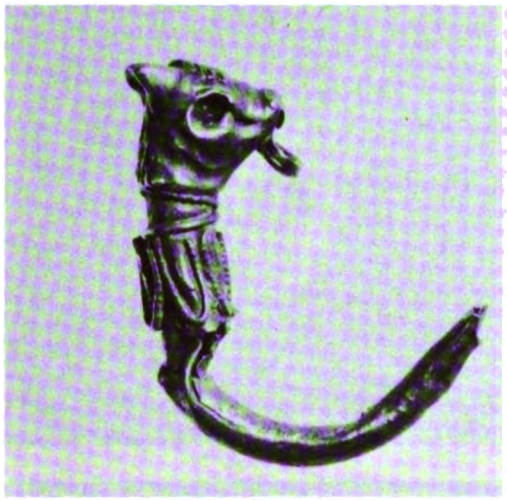
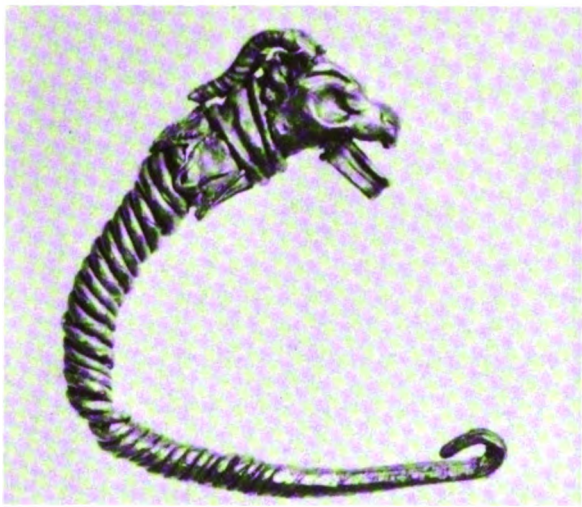


Fig. 13 a–b. MME 1978:10. H. 1.57 cm. Wt. 0.416 g.



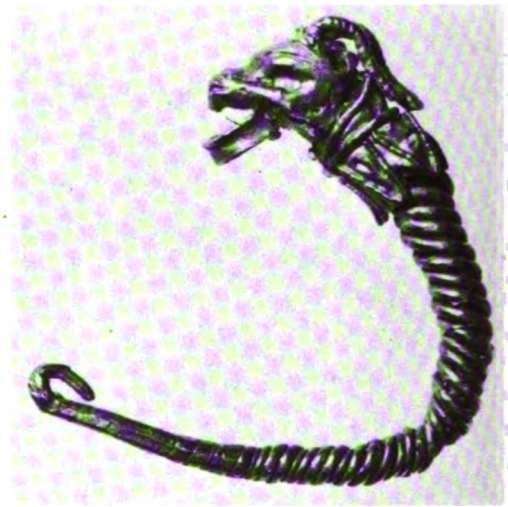


Fig. 14 a–b. MME 1978:11. H. 1.60 cm. Wt. 0.868 g.

ibex seems least likely, having as it does much heavier and longer horns. It resembles quite closely the small goat-antelope, the chamois, which in ancient times was to be found in larger numbers in the mountains of middle Europe and Asia.[34]

This earring also should be dated to the fourth century B.C.

The evidence for the dating of hoop earrings is given by Higgins. The archaeological material from Greece before the late 4th century B.C. is meagre.[35] Support for the early dates of the four earrings with animal-head finials is provided by the fortuituous discovery in a datable context at Pasargadae of a pair of bracelets with antelope finials like the one on MME 1978:11. The eyes are also unperforated. In his arguments for the date, Stronach relies heavily on the outlined tongues at the base of the collar, which he calls zig-zags. The bracelets are dated to the first half of the fourth century B.C.[36]

Technical analyses

An analysis of the metal content of the earrings and the gold wreath MM 1975:11 was made by means of wavelength dispersive X-ray flourescence. The results were calibrated with reference to the analysis in 1976 of the

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wreath by atom absorption spectrometry and are to be regarded as semiquantitative.[37]

	gold	silver	copper	iron	lead	mercury
MM 1985:1	97 %	>2 %	some	traces	–	traces
MM 1982:5a	93 %	6 %	some	traces	–	traces
MM 1982:5b	94 %	5 %	some	traces	–	traces
MME 1978:10	96 %	>3 %	some	traces	–	traces
MME 1978:11	97 %	2 %	some	traces	–	traces
MM 1975:11	99 %	0.6 %	0.2 %	0.6 %	0.02 %	traces

Although the presence of gold of such purity is known to occur naturally in regions which supplied the Greek world,[38] the presence of mercury in these objects may testify to the use in the 4th century B.C. of the method of refining gold described by Pliny.[39]

While studying the Eros earring, a small hole was uncovered just below the loop for attachment (fig. 2). The material which fell out of the head was collected and analyzed microchemically, microscopically and with X-ray flourescence. The microchemical analysis revealed iron; charcoal and slag-like material could be determined with the microscope while X-ray flourescence disclosed iron, manganese, potassium, chlorine, calcium, and possibly tin and zinc. Potassium and chlorine can have been present in the flux used in the process of soldering; tin and zinc were present in extremely small amounts and may be due to impurities in the flux.[40] Iron and manganese can also have been impurities in the flux, introduced from the clay vessel in which it was mixed. Or they may derive from clay and slag deliberately placed in the head to give weight and also to protect the shape.[41] The presence of the hole should have been sufficient to prevent explosion during soldering.[42]

Under 30× magnification it can be observed that large areas of the head are iridescent. According to Elin Törnqvist of the Technical Institution, this is due to the transformation of the flux to a glaze-like film during soldering.[43]

I am very grateful to Bengt Peterson, Director of the Egyptian Department of the Medelhavsmuseet, for permission to publish the earrings MME 1978:10 and MME 1978:11. I should also like to thank Adolf Greifenhagen, Reynold Higgins and Gertrud Platz for kindly sharing their views on the earring with head of a child, Pontus Hellström and Tullia Linders for reading the manuscript and offering helpful suggestions for its improvement, Mille Törnblom, Elin Törnquist and Kate Tronner at the Technical Institute of the Central Board of National Antiquities (Riksantikvarieämbetet) for their help with the technical analyses, Torgny Wallin of Boliden AB, Herbert Cahn & Rita Perry of Münzen und Medaillen A. G., Brita Alroth, Johan Flemberg, Susan Langdon, Hedvig Larsson and Ingela Wiman for help in different ways.

[1] Greifenhagen, A., *Schmuckarbeiten in Edelmetall* I, Berlin 1970, p. 17 & pl. 2:1, 2, Higgins, R., *Greek and Roman Jewellery*, London 1980 (2nd ed.), pls. 5:A, 7:B, 10:D, 12:C, G.

[2] Walberg, G., An Ear-Ring Pendant from Sinda and Various Types of Bull's-Head Ear-Rings, *Boreas (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis)* 9, 1978, pp. 53–56.

[3] Higgins, *op. cit.*, pls. 16:B, 20:B, 25:B, D, G, 26, 30:A, 31:A, Greifenhagen, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 10:5 and II, pl. 35:1–3, Hoffmann, H. & Davidson, P., *Greek Gold*, Mainz/Rhein 1965., pp. 237–238, de Ridder, A., *Collection De Clercq. Catalogue* VII. *Les bijoux et les pierres gravées*, Paris 1911, p. 14, nos. 136–138 & pl. VII. Heads were, of course, a favourite motif in other media as well.

[4] Higgins, *op. cit.*, pl. 30, Karageorghis, V., *The Greek Museums. Cyprus Museum and Archaeological Sites of Cyrpus*, Athens 1975, pp. 50–51, no. 51b, Pierides, A., *Jewellery in the Cyprus Museum*, Nicosia 1971, p. 33 & pl. XXI:10–12.

[5] Maxwell-Hyslop, K. R., *Western Asiatic Jewellery c. 3000–612 B.C.*, London 1974, pp. 213–214. See also Hoffmann & Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 2 and Amandry, P., review of *Greek Gold* in *AJA* 71, 1967, pp. 203–204.

[6] de Grummond, N. T. (ed.), *A Guide to Etruscan Mirrors*, Tallahassee 1982, fig. 17.

[7] These estimates are calculated from the following publications of collections: Amandry, P., *Collection Hélène Stathatos. Les Bijoux Antiques*, Strasbourg 1953, Breglia, L., *Catalogo delle oreficerie del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, Rome 1941, Bury, S., *Victoria and Albert Museum. Jewellery Gallery, Summary Catalogue*, London 1982, Greifenhagen, A., *Schmuckarbeiten in Edelmetall*, Berlin 1970 (vol. I) & 1975 (vol. II), Hackens, T., *Catalogue of the Classical Collection. Classical Jewelry, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design*, Providence 1976, Hoffmann, H. & von Claer, V., *Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg, Antiker Gold- und Silberschmuck*, Mainz/Rhine 1968, Marshall, F. H., *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum*, London 1911, Naumann, F., *Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Kassel. Antiker Schmuck*, Melungen 1980, Pierides, A., *Jewellery in the Cyprus Museum*, Nicosia 1971, de Ridder, A., *Collection De Clercq. Catalogue* VII. *Les bijoux et les pierres gravées*, Paris 1911, *Ibid., Musée National du Louvre. Catalogue sommaire des bijoux antiques*, Paris 1924, Segall, B., *Museum Benaki. Athen. Katalog der Goldschmiede-Arbeiten*, Athens 1938, Siviero, R., *Gli ori e le ambre del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, Florence 1954, Vernier, E., *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire, bijoux et orfèvreries*, Cairo 1927.

[8] Inventory number MM 1985:1. H. 2.3 cm., wt. before removal of contents of head 3.656 g., after removal 3.585 g. The provenience is unknown.

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[9] The hoops of these earrings were also cast; for surviving moulds see Higgins, *op. cit.*, pl. 1 E and Ogden, J., *Jewellery of the Ancient World,* London 1982. p. 36. For a discussion of the techniques used in the production of earrings of this type see Hoffmann & Davidson, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–30. For discussions of ancient goldsmithing techniques in general see the same book, pp. 24–48, also Higgins, *op. cit.*, pp. 11–34, Ogden, *op. cit.*, pp. 33–87.

[10] *Schmuck der Antike. Gefässe und Geräte aus Bronze. Sonderliste* T, Münzen und Medaillen A. G., Basel 1981, pp. 9 & 32 no. 25, Greifenhagen, *op. cit.* II. p. 59 & pl. 47:4, de Ridder, *op. cit.*, 1911, p. 67, no. 334. There is a Roman pair of cameo earrings with heads of a child in the Cyprus Museum, Pierides, *op. cit.*, p. 46 & pl. XXXII:3.

[11] *Werke antiker Goldschmiedekunst. Sonderliste* M, Münzen und Medaillen A. G., Basel 1970, pp. 46–47, no. 119. There is a twin to the Basel pin in Naples, Breglia, *op. cit.*, p. 91 no. 926, pl. 40:5.

[12] For a copy of Praxiteles' Eros see Rizzo, G. E., *Prassitele,* Rome 1932. pls. 32–33.

[13] For Roman copies see *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* II:2, pl. 184:39 f, g, i, n.

[14] Rühfel, H., *Das Kind in der Griechischen Kunst von der minoisch-mykenischen Zeit bis zum Hellenismus,* Mainz/Rhine 1984, pp. 228–229 nos. 96–97.

[15] *To Ergon* 1959, pp. 16–17 figs. 15 & 17 (without braid), p. 17 fig. 16 (with braid).

[16] Kondis, J., Artémis Brauronia, *Archaiologikon Deltion* 22:1, 1967, p. 224.

[17] Lauter, H. *Die Koren des Erechtheion. Antike Plastik* XVI, Berlin 1976, korai C, E, F, pp. 22, 27, 30 and pls. 29, 50 & 56. For his interpretations and arguments for the young age of the korai see p. 16 with note 52 & p. 23. I am indebted to Dr. Olga Palagia for interesting and informative discussions on this subject.

[18] *Choephori* 6, πλόκαμον Ἰνάχῳ θρεπτήριον, for the translation as "foster-wage" see Nilsson, M. P., *A History of Greek Religion,* Oxford 1956, pp. 96–97.

[19] Athenaios. VI. 225 b, κόμην τρέφων μὲν πρῶτον ἱερὰν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς φησίν· οὐ διὰ τοῦτό γ', ἀλλ ἐστιγμένος πρὸ τοῦ μετώπου παραπέτασμ' αὐτὴν ἔχει. The translation is Gulick's. *Loeb Classical Library* III, London 1929, p. 15.

[20] Nilsson, M. P., *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I. *Die Religion Griechenlands bis auf die griechische Weltherrschaft,* Munich 1967, pp. 136–137, 180, 381, 493. A stone commemoration in the British Museum of the offer to Poseidon of a braid each by two brothers pictures the braids, Smith, A. H., *British Museum. A Guide to the Exhibition Illustrating Greek and Roman Life,* London 1920, p. 48, fig. 37.

[21] Nilsson, *op. cit.*, 1967, pp. 493–494, Kondis, *op. cit.*, p. 222. See also Snijder, G.A.S., Ein römischer Mädchenkopf, *Antike Plastik* (Festschrift Amelung), Berlin 1928, pp. 239–244.

[22] Arias, *Skopas,* Rome 1952, pl. XIV:47. There is a head said to be of Eros and of "perhaps the 4th century B.C." in the British Museum, Smith, A. H., *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities* 3, London 1904, p. 68 no. 1679.

[23] Boardman, J. & La Rocca, E., *Eros in Greece,* London 1978, the figure on p. 146 for example.

[24] Hoffmann & Davidson, *op. cit.*, pp. 228–231.

[25] Bieber, M., Eros and Dionysos on Kertch Vases, *Hesperia Suppl.* 8, 1949, pp. 31–38.

[26] Inventory number MM 1982:5a & b. H. 2.92 & 2.76 cm., wt. 4.039 & 4.403 g for a & b respectively. Provenience unknown.

[27] Marshall, *op. cit.*, pp. 195–196, nos. 1808–9, pl. XXXI:1808; our heads do not have the solar disk. Another close parallel appears in Zahn, R., *Galerie Bachstitz 's-Gravenhage II. Antike, byzantinische, islamische Arbeiten der Kleinkunst und des Kunstgewerbes antike Skulpturen,* Berlin 1921(?), no. 11 on p. 5 & pl. 20.

[28] Hoffmann & Davidson, *op. cit.*, pp. 106, no. 26, 168 & 170, no. 61b; Karageorghis, *op. cit.*, pp. 50–51, no. 51b and Pierides, *op. cit.*, p. 32 & pl. XXI:6, 7.

[29] Inventory number MME 1978:10. H. 1.57 cm., wt. 0.416 g. Provenience unknown.

[30] For example Hackens, *op. cit.*, p. 84, no. 29.

[31] Inv. no. 8725 & a-1863.

[32] Inventory number MME 1978:11. H. 1.60 cm., wt. 0.868 g. Provenience unknown.

[33] Inv. no. 21, Hoffmann & Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 107, no. 27.

[34] For a picture of the chamois see *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 5, 1956, p. 214.

[35] Higgins, *op. cit.*, pp. 159–160.

[36] Stronach, D., Excavations at Pasargadae: Third Preliminary Report, *Iran* 3, 1965, pp. 36–38 & 40, Maxwell-Hyslop, pl. 187. See also Amandry, *op. cit.*, 1967, p. 204, and Hoffmann & Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

[37] Landenius, H., A Gold Wreath in the Medelhavsmuseet, *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 11, 1976, pp. 46–49. Compare also the results of analyses of Hellenistic gold in Hoffmann & Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

[38] Tylecote, R. F., *History of Metallurgy,* London 1976, p. 3, table 3.

[39] Pliny, *Natural History* XXXII.99–100. See also Higgins, *op. cit.*, p. 8 and Ogden, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[40] Higgins, *op. cit.*, p. 32, Ogden, *op. cit.*, p. 64. See also Hoffmann & Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 41–48.

[41] Higgins, *op. cit.*, pp. 33–34 and Ogden, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

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Praenestine Mirrors in the Medelhavsmuseet

An integrated study

Ingela M. B. Wiman

1 Introduction

1:1 Typology

Nowadays the desire for a *complete* description of ancient pieces of bronze has been increasingly pleaded for by most archaeologists. Together with the description concerning circumstances of the find, form and dimensions of the artefact, the type of manufacture of the certain piece, etc., there is also stressed the need for an inner typology describing the type of alloy used and the presence of more or less deliberately added trace elements.[1] These data might provide valuable knowledge about where and how these artefacts were fabricated.

This paper intends to present three Praenestine mirrors kept in the Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm, trying to apply the above discussed principles. In order to increase the knowledge of the metal composition of Praenestine mirrors and to be able to decide whether there are any significant differences between their metal structure and the ordinary metal structure of Etruscan mirrors, the data from chemical analyses of these mirrors are compared with results from analyses accessible in already published mirror studies.

1:2 The shape of Praenestine mirrors

The earliest example of mirror fabrication emanates from Egypt, where the rounded disc possibly symbolised the sun.[2] The art and the form were adapted by the Myceneans and passed by them to the Greeks. The rounded form was also adapted by the Villanova people in Etruria, as evidenced by a very early mirror from Tarquinia.[3] When the Etruscans begun to engrave pictures on the non-reflecting side of the mirror discs in the years around 500 B.C., they chose to decorate it according to the known Etruscan formula with a metopic design.[4] Soon an adaptation to the rounded form took place, probably influenced by the numerous tondo images on the attic red figure kylikes imported in vast quantities into Etruria.

It is well known that mirrors made in Praeneste are predominantly of another form; piriform or bean-shaped. When this form occurs the mirror disc is completely filled with the engraved decoration, and experimentation with perspectives and different planes are frequently made.[5] This innovation of form arose in Praeneste[6] probably as a result of contacts with the south Italian Greeks. Their mirrors often had an elaborate *talon* (Extension at base of disc) between the mirror disc and the handle.[7] The Praenestinian mirror founders incorporated this heavier talon into the mirror disc and the effect was a more oblong shape of the mirror discs. All three mirrors to be discussed here are of this piriform type and there is thus no doubt that they are of Praenestine origin.

2 A short description of the investigated mirrors

The three mirrors discussed here are all kept in the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities (Medelhavsmuseet) in Stockholm. One mirror Inv. no. Acc. 723 has already been published[8] and is discussed here only metallographically. The other two mirrors are Inv. nos. NM 2123 and MM 13879.

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2:1 MM 13879 (Figs. 1–3)

This Praenestine mirror was donated to the Museum in the year 1943 together with an Egyptian collection. The provenience is not known. Measurements:
Length: 288,5 mm, Dia. of horizontal axis: 140 mm and vertical axis, extension included: 177 mm. Thickness of mirror disc: 1,5 mm. Weight: 246 g.

The mirror is conserved and mended. A heavy blow has been inflicted on the reverse side near the junction of the left side of the disc and extension. The reflecting side of the mirror is slightly convex.

The handle is cast in one piece with the mirror. The handle is attached to the disc by an extension at the base of the disc. It is solid and has a quadrangular section. A bowed schematic palmette in relief separates the handle from the extension on the obverse, a languette shaped moulding runs in the center of the handle. A knob in the form of a hind's head terminates the handle. On the reverse side, a large central depression runs along the otherwise undecorated handle.

There is no visible sign of any decoration on the obverse extension or mirror disc. A beaded border surrounds the mirror and ends at the winged projections of the extension.

The reverse engraved decoration is severely damaged by corrosive products. There are no traces left of any ornamentations on the extension. The main scene is surrounded by a laurel wreath formed by two languette shaped leaves – opposite to each other – fastened to a stem made by a single engraved line. Between the two laurel branches, on top of the mirror disc a central rosette or flower is engraved. The main scene shows two women facing each other. The woman to the left is dressed in a peplos, she is wearing what can be interpreted as a crested helmet, her left hand is holding a shield and her right hand a spear or sceptre. Behind her back there is a large circular object within which some floral(?) ornament is engraved. Her feet are bare and corrosion conceals most of her front and face. By the attributes it is possible to identify this woman as Athena. A naked woman with a mantle draped over her right arm occupies the other half of the main scene. Her mantle falls in folds behind her back and she is probably holding it wrapped around her left arm. She is wearing sandals and a simple necklace and is holding a spear or sceptre in her right hand. Although better preserved than Athena, she is also damaged by corrosion. This divinity is probably Aphrodite who is sometimes characterized by nakedness, sandals and a necklace in Praenestine and Etruscan iconography.[9]

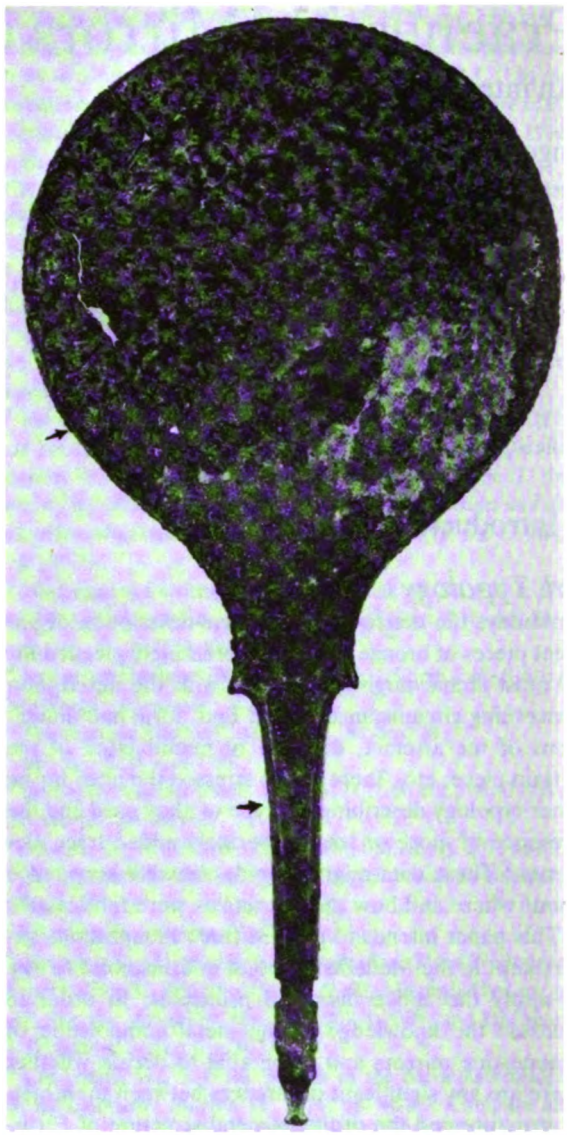

Fig. 1. Photography of the reflecting side of the mirror MM 13879. The arrow shows the sample area

Composition, design and technical quality of the engraving

The two figures are well adapted to the rounded form of the mirror disc. The rounded motion is created by the insertion of the oblong object behind the back of Athena and is continued in the rounded left elbow of Aphrodite. The positions of the feet with the right foot

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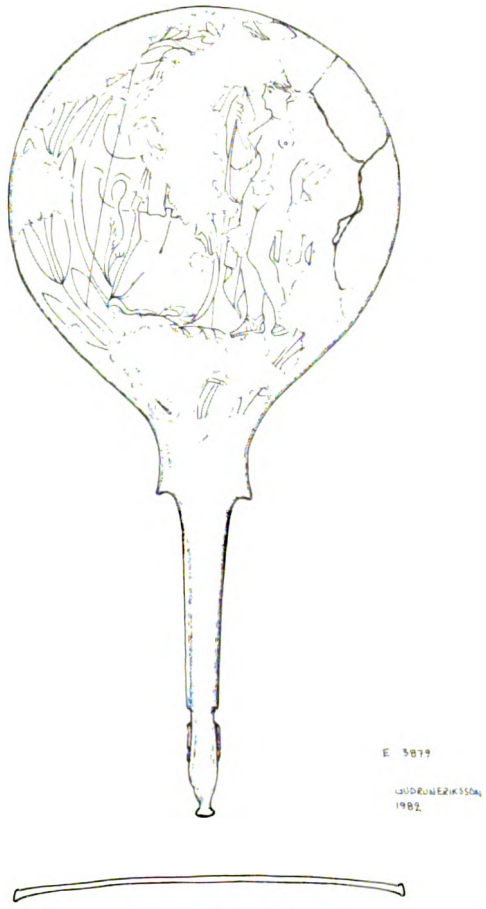

Fig. 2. Drawing of the non-reflecting side of the mirror MM 13879

placed on a lower level than the left one fulfill the rounded motion in the composition.

The drawing is uncertain. Feet and hands are carelessly rendered and the arms holding spears are not convincing. The legs of Aphrodite are unproportionately short and thick. Parts of the engravings cut into the surrounding wreath (spear-end, helmet and right hand of Athena). Some inner lines and muscles are rendered by scratchings.

The incised lines are often interrupted but otherwise are fairly deep and even. Some overlappings are discernible.

The enlarged photography (fig. 4), shows the usual scratched surface structure of a bronze mirror. It also clearly shows that the corrosion covers parts of the engraved lines, thus proving the authenticity of the mirror engravings.

Interpretation

The mirror scene shown here is difficult to interprete. If the identification of Aphrodite is correct, it is not usual to find Athena and Aphrodite alone in mirror scenes. More often the two goddesses are shown together with Hera in "the judgement of Paris". A similar scene shows two women on a mirror from the Cleveland museum.[10] De Puma identifies them as Menerfa(Athena) and Artumes(Artemis) and he supposes that "this engraving does not represent a particular myth but

Fig. 3. Photography of the non-reflecting side of the mirror MM 13879

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Fig. 4. Enlarged photography (c. 23 times enlargement) of the lower left part of the mirror disc of MM 13879. Note the small scratches on the bronze surface and the corrosive products covering parts of the engraved lines

simply a pleasant conversation between two deities".[11] This may well be the case also in the Swedish mirror.[12] Praenestine mirrors are often associated with and found in cistae.[13] The assumption that these were offered as wedding-gifts is plausible.[14] The scene here with Aphrodite/Turan, divine guardian of wedlock and Athena/Menerfa as patroness of spinning and weaving, seems a most appropriate subject matter for a mirror intended as a wedding gift.

According to form and dimension this mirror belongs to the "miroirs groupe C", defined by Adam.[15] This group is characterized by a two-figured composition, the figures each occupying one half of the main scene. The figures are shown in profile or three-quarter profile. The engravers avoid perspective representations and the mythological subject-matters are rare and vague.[16]

Dating

Piriform mirrors with handles *en languette,* like the present one, were in use from the middle of the fourth century B.C.[17] This mirror can be compared with a mirror in Cabinet de Medailles, Inv. no. 1339.[18] Mirrors belonging to this general type with a subject-matter reduced to two or three static figures with a fairly careless design have been ascribed to the very end of the fourth century B.C.[19] The mirror MM 13879 can thus with reasonable certainty be placed around the year 300 B.C.

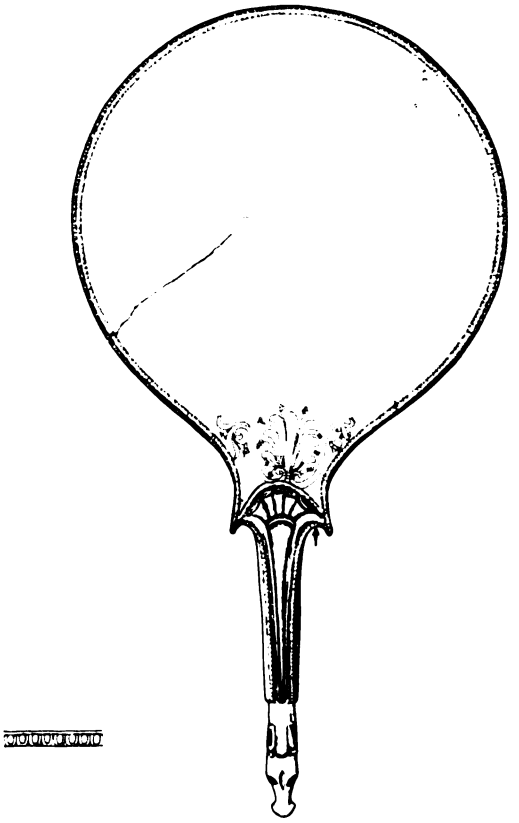

Fig. 5. Drawing of the reflecting side of mirror NM 2123. Arrow indicates sampling area

2:2 NM 2123 (Figs. 5–7)

The provenience of this mirror is unknown. The mirror was bought in Rome in 1937 by the National Museum in Stockholm and transferred to Medelhavsmuseet 1982.
Measurements:
Length: 298 mm, Dia. of horizontal axis: 161 mm; and vertical axis, extension included: 191 mm. Thickness of mirror disc: 2 mm.
Weight: 437,4 g.

The mirror is conserved and mended. A crack radiates through the disc upwards from the left lower part on the obverse. The surface is smooth and green with

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Fig. 6. Drawing of the non-reflecting side of mirror NM 2123

patches of lighter green. The obverse side of the mirror is slightly convex. The handle is cast in one piece with the mirror. It is united to a square extension at the base of the disc and is solid and has a quadrangular section. A bent schematic palmette cast in relief separates the handle from the extension on the obverse, a languette shaped moulding runs in the centre of the handle. A knob in the form of a hind's head terminates the handle. An outer lonian kyma surrounds the mirror disc and continues down the winged projections. An inner beaded border surrounds the mirror disc and continues down the winged projection following a tapering line on the handle and ending right above the hind's head. On the obverse side a large central depression runs along the otherwise undecorated handle.

Slightly off centre above the relief decoration on the obverse there is a seven petalled palmette engraved. Between each of the palmette-leaves, three-petalled flowers on slender stems arise. Entwined with the palmette in a volute at the base, two branches partially surround it, on each side terminated by a leafage and bell-shaped flowers.

The reverse engraved decoration is excellently well preserved. The decoration starts at the extension with a mask. From the horns of the (Achelous?)-mask two laurel branches rise and enclose the main design. The stems are terminated by bell-shaped flowers furnished with stamina and a central pistil. Between the calyces another flower engraved *en face* is placed. The branches are formed by two larger, oppositofolious, languette-shaped leaves with central veins and a pair of smaller, oblong leaves without central veins (by mistake? the engraver gave veins to eight of these leaves on the lower left side on the reverse). The garlanded bor-

Fig. 7. Photography of the non-reflecting side of NM 2123

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der of the mirror is separated from the medallion by two engraved lines ending in a peak above the head of the Achelous-mask. The lower third part of the medallion is engraved in horizontal lines thus forming a groundplane for the divinities. To the left of the mirror disc is a bearded male seated on cushions with his mantle wrapped around his hips; he is wearing sandals. In his right hand he holds a sceptre crowned by a dove, and in his left a thunderbolt. His head carries a laurel wreath. These attributes identify him as Zeus. Between him and the wings of the middle figure there is a taenia hanging from the line separating the medallion from the garlanded border. Centrally placed in the picture stands a half-naked, winged female. She wears her mantle wrapped around her right hip and falling in heavy folds from her right shoulder. She wears sandals. Her right arm is adorned with bracelets on both upper and lower arm; of the left one the bracelets on the lower arm only are visible. Her hair is arranged *en chinon* and from her ear hangs an ear-pendant. She is placing a laurel-wreath around the head of the third figure of the mirror. He is standing in tree-quarter profile with a lion-heave across his bent left arm. He is holding a club in both hands and apart from the ribbons that hang from his wreath he is completely naked. The wings and the activity of the central female identifies her as Nike crowning Heracles, likewise easily recognized by his attributes. A floral motif is engraved on the ground-lines between Nike and Heracles.

Composition, design and technical quality of the engraving.

The engraved figures are well integrated into the rounded form of the mirror disc. The only interruption in the circular motion is effected by the sceptre of Zeus and the left leg of Heracles. The harmonious circle, beginning at the feet of Zeus, is carried further by the bent elbow and sloping skull-line of the divinity, it continues through the wings of Nike, Heracles' head and lion-heave and is terminated by an imaginary line through the right foot of Heracles down through the feet of the goddess of Victory.

The drawing is of an excellent quality giving harmonious proportions to all figures involved in the composition. Large parts of the figures cut into the wreath and overlap the garlanded border. The inner lines – indicating the musculature of Heracles – are doubtful, giving his neck a wrinkled impression and flabbiness to his stomach and legs. The facial traits give him a sulky expression with very small eyes.

The incised lines are fairly deep and continuos. The mass of inner lines and details give a somewhat restless impression. Some overlappings are discernible.

Interpretation

This scene is easily recognised as the crowning by Nike of the victorious Heracles. The presence of his divine father Zeus with the thunderbolt might allude to the apotheosis of Heracles. One Praenestine mirror (ES IV:343) shows Nike giving a wreath to Heracles, and another Praenestine mirror (ES IV:347) pictures Heracles in Olympos in front of Zeus. Zeus has on this mirror the same general iconography, seated, crowned with a wreath and holding a sceptre with a bird on top, as in the Swedish mirror. An Achelous-mask adorns the lower part of the mirror ES VI:347, such a mask, although rudimentary, also adorns the extension of the Swedish mirror, the laurel wreath rising from its horns. However, these "crowning scenes" are not tied exclusively to Heracles. A Praenestine mirror (ES V:106) shows Victoria crowning Alixentros (Paris). Another probably Praenestine mirror (ES V:2) has been interpreted as a Lasa crowning Zeus (ES V p. 10).

The mirror is slightly too small to exactly fit into Adam's "miroirs groupe B",[20] but it has stylistic traits in common with many mirrors from this group. These traits are – among others – the *coiffure en chinon* of the females, the elaborate earrings, the way to render their sandals, and the surrounding laurel wreaths.[21] Furthermore the mythological scenes represented by mirrors of this group are easily recognisable (as they must have been to the users of the B-type mirrors since the engravers of these mirrors did not consider it necessary to inscribe the names of the divinities involved).[22]

Dating

This mirror has a handle *en languette* like MM Acc 723.[23] It also has the rather unusual laurel wreath terminated by elaborate calyces and a central flower in common with MM Acc 723. Mirrors from "groupe B" are generally somewhat older than "miroirs groupe C".[24] The dimensions of this mirror, though, are more compatible to the later C-group mirrors[25] and an intermediate date seems appropriate. Considering dimensions and ornamentation it is reasonable to date the mirror NM 2123 to the years around 320 B.C.

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3 Metallographical data

All three mirrors, ACC 723, MM 13879 and NM 2123, have been analysed by Particle Induced X-ray Emission, (PIXE). This method has been developed into a reliable analytical tool for routine determination of many elements present in very small quantities in small samples.[26] One field of great interest in archaeology is the composition of bronze mirrors. Like other bronzes, the mirrors have often been severely damaged by corrosion. During storage in humid environment a layer of copper oxides is produced, gradually forming a layer of cuprit, a mineral orange to reddish-purple in colour. If no chlorides are present, green and blue copper carbonates are then formed while the presence of, e.g. sodium chloride may give rise to cuprous chloride. The corrosion may then progress to relatively large depth and render bulk analysis very difficult.

The fact that the elemental composition varies with depth due to corrosion processes is a problem for all analytical methods but is even more serious for X-ray spectrometric techniques. Any direct analysis of the unprepared surface, e.g. with an external proton beam may thus produce erroneous results concerning the bulk composition. Furthermore, since these objects are often of great value, it is difficult to obtain permission to cause any substantial change to the objects. Consequently one is left either with very small polished areas or tiny amounts of removed sample material making multi-elemental analysis using only traditional wet chemistry (e.g. Atomic Absorbtion Spectrometry, AAS) quite difficult.[27] The chief advantages with PIXE-analysis is the very small amount of sampling material required (required minimum quantity for AAS is 10 mg and for PIXE 0.1 mg). The method can be explained in a simplified manner as follows: An ion beam is produced in a Van de Graaff accelerator using very high voltage. The ion beam penetrates the sample and causes some of the electrons in the atoms to leave their normal orbits. The amount of energy released, when the electrons reoccupies their original orbits with the termination of the bombardment of the ion beam, is specific to each element. The amount of energy is measured by a sensitive detector and displayed as a diagram on a data screen. In this way most of the elements present in the sample are measured simultaneously without any damage to the sample. The method is described more thoroughly in the *Journal of Radioanalytical Chemistry*.[28]

The sample area was cleaned from corrosion products and a sample was prepared by drilling a tiny hole in the mirror with a 2.1 mm chromium-vanadium steel drill.[29] The chips from the drilling were transferred onto thin plastic foils (Kimfoil) and then analysed by irradiation in vacuum by 2.5 MeV protons (the method described above). To compare the results another sample was gathered in the mirror disc of MM 13879 to see if any significant differences were to be found between disc and handle in these kinds of mirrors. This sample was taken with a portable jeweller's drill.[30] The result as follows in Table 1. (Results from the disc-sample are shown in Table 3 and discussed on page 14).

Mirror no.	Fe	Cu	As	Ag
Acc 723	0.13±0.04	86.5	0.21±0.01	<0.035
MM 13879	0.10±0.03	91.6	0.15±0.01	0.047±0.01
NM 2123	<0.065	84.9	0.16±0.01	<0.035

Mirror no.	Sn	Pb
Acc 723	13.1±0.9	<0.090
MM 13879	7.5±0.4	0.57±0.03
NM 2123	14.8±1.3	0.094±0.09

Table 1. Results from PIXE analysis of three Praenestine mirrors. Contents are given in %. All samples were taken in the handle of the mirrors.

Here it is evident that the composition of Acc 723 and NM 2123 is more similar than that of MM 13879. These mirrors also have considerable mutual similarities in dimension and decoration.

4 Discussion and conclusion

The metal composition of Praenestine mirrors is not as well known as the composition of Etruscan mirrors. However, some general trends are common to both groups. Silver (Ag) and lead (Pb) are not homogenous in bronze alloys.[31] The mirror disc was often hammered to gain its final shape. In that procedure much of the lead that forms globules on the surface and defects the reflecting quality of the mirror, was effectively removed.[32] The composition of the tang or the handle of a mirror might thus differ from the composition of the mirror disc where an optimum reflecting quality was aimed at. It is important to indicate where the sample was taken to avoid uncertainties whether the result really concerns the original reflecting quality of the mirror disc. In the present study the sampling area is indicated by arrows on the drawings of the mirrors. In

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the publication of the Etruscan and Praenestine mirrors of the Royal Museum in Brussels, a very careful examination of the compositions of the mirrors has been carried out.[33] The analysts state that samplings were mostly gathered from the handles of the mirrors.[34] To judge from "Tableau 2" in the above study, where results from different sampling areas of one mirror are documented, the main elements (Cu and Sn) were fairly homogenous in these mirrors (except cat. no. 69).[35] The samples of the Swedish mirrors were also taken in the handles. Now, in order to enable us to directly compare the composition of the Praenestine mirrors in Brussels and in Sweden, they should have been analyzed by the same method in the same laboratory and preferably also by the same analyst.[36]

The Praenestine mirrors in the Brussels collection of the same general type as the Swedish ones are cat. nos. 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 19, 21, 29, 34 and 35 (the mirror cat. no. 27 is excluded here, since it is not stated beyond any doubts that it is authentic). These mirrors have been analysed with X-ray Fluorescence and the results are published in an appendix at the end of the book.[37] Only analysed elements in common with the recorded Swedish mirror analyses are listed here (Table 2).

	Cu	Sn	Pb	As	Fe
19.	86	12.2	0.21	0.14	0.40
6.	87	10.4	2.36	0.32	0.13
21.	87	11.7	0.11	0.05	0.35
34.	87	11.7	0.11	0.08	0.61
11.	89	11.0	0.09	0.05	0.22
29.	89	10.1	0.12	0.34	0.38
35.	88	11.0	0.51	0.12	0.14
9.	90	9.5	0.06	0.14	0.13
10.	91	8.6	0.12	0.13	0.36
12.	90	8.7	0.06	0.01	0.70

Table 2. The chemical elements in 10 Praenestine mirrors from The Royal Museum in Brussels. Contents are listed in %.

A diagram of the relation of the Cu and Sn distribution of these mirrors shows that it is not directly possible to establish any distinguished grouping of the mirrors (Fig. 8). The mean values (± standard deviation) for copper and tin in these Praenestine mirrors are: Cu 88.4 (±1.66) and 10.5 (±1.26). Since a bronze alloy is chiefly composed by copper and tin, these two chemical elements are negatively correlated to each other. The average tin content in Etruscan mirrors is 10.1 % (ref. 38) – 12.9 % (ref. 39). Thus there is no significant

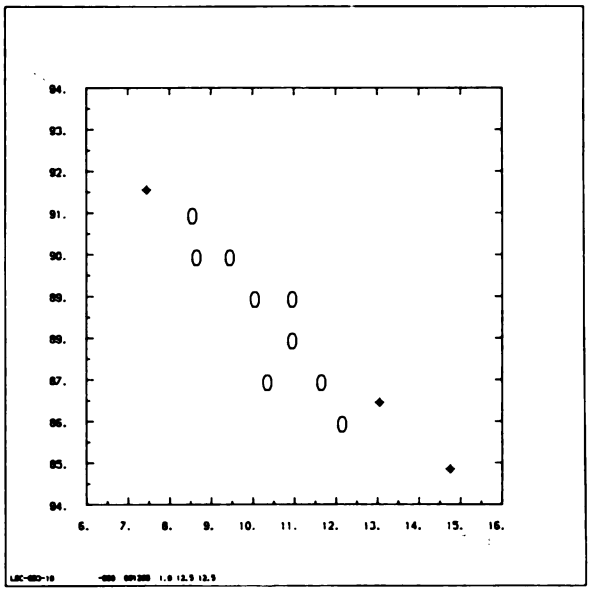

Fig. 8. Diagram showing the relation of the copper and tin distribution of Praenestine mirrors. Mirrors indicated with a + symbol are the three Swedish mirrors. Two mirrors from the Brussels museum are completely similar in their metal composition (cat. nos. 21 and 34) and occupy therefore the same point on the diagram. Otherwise it is not possible to distinguish any clustering tendency within these mirrors

difference between the composition of these Praenestine mirrors and Etruscan mirrors in general with respect to the tin (or copper) contents.

The tin values of the Swedish mirrors are slightly higher than the above value in two mirrors (Acc 723 and NM 2123) and slightly lower for MM 13879. When considering that different methods of analyses have been used and the possible errors are acknowledged, the compositions of the Swedish mirrors compare well with the other Praenestine mirrors in this brief investigation.

In one particular case there was an opportunity to elaborate on the metallographical analytical problems, in as much as mirror MM 13879 was sampled also in the mirror disc (Cf. Fig. 1). The PIXE results from this sample is shown in Table 3.

Disc sample of MM 13879	Fe	Cu	As	Ag	Sn	Pb
	0.42	88.0	0.24	<0.1	10.0	0.54

Table 3. Results from the PIXE analysis of the mirror disc of mirror MM 13879. Contents are given in %.

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Although stringent conclusions are not possible at present, the data do suggest higher concentrations of Fe, (a factor of 4) and As (a factor of 2) relative to "handle data". The analytical result probably also indicates a higher Sn content. Further discussion is beyond the scope of the present study, but the comparison strongly supports a recommendation that a complete metallographic description of a mirror necessitates several samples from several parts of the mirror.

The three mirrors in the Medelhavsmuseet are both stylistically and metallographically representative examples of mirrors made in Praeneste. There are similarities between MM Acc 723 and NM 2123 both regarding their metal composition and in stylistic details, above all in the laurel wreath surrounding the main design. The garlanded borders are separated from the main scene by a double concentric circle in both mirrors. The three-figured composition is similar with two figures turned right-wards to the left of the mirrors and one turned left-wards, looking right. The main difference is that all divinities in mirror NM 2123 cut into the surrounding wreath, whereas none of the three women of mirror MM Acc 723 even transgress the concentric lines that separate the main scene from the border. The engravings of NM 2123 are in an excellent state of preservation, but those of MM Acc 723 are covered and damaged by corrosion, thus making any careful stylistic comparison only too difficult. The similarities between these two mirrors however, and the fact that they both belong to Adam's "groupe B", do not exclude the possibility that they were fabricated in the same workshop in Praeneste. The differences in the main design and the similarities between the surrounding wreaths may be explained thus that the more stereotype garlanded border was excecuted by the same artist,[40] but the more elaborate medallions were made by two different master engravers.

Acknowledgements

I am deeply indebted to Professor Carl-Eric Östenberg who generously offered me the material of these fascinating mirrors. I am grateful to the staff of the Medelhavsmuseet, who kindly helped me in every way. The PIXE- analyses form a part of a collaborative project and were carried out on the Pelletron accelerator, Department of Nuclear Physics, University of Lund, under the supervision of Dr. Klas Malmqvist. Ann-Kristin Ekholm performed the PIXE-spectra fitting. I thank the PIXE group for cooperative spirits. Charlotte Wikander read the manuscript and suggested valuable refinements. Henryk Rozenberg prepared the enlarged photo of mirror MM 13879. The other photos were produced by Margaretha Sjöblom. Drawings were made by Gudrun Anselm.

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[2] De Grummond, N. T. (Ed.) *A Guide to Etruscan Mirrors*, Florida (1982) p. 9.

[3] De Grummond, N. T. ibid., p. 8.

[4] A good example is shown in Taf. 292 vol. IV, in Gerhard, E., Klügmann, A. and Körte, G. *Etruskische Spiegel*. 5 vols. Berlin (1940–1897). (Hereafter cited as ES I–V). For a detailed discussion on metopic composition in Etruscan art, see Brendel, O. J. *Etruscan Art*, Penguin (1978) pp. 28, 29, 36, 37, 68, 69, 120, 180 and 351.

[5] See e.g. ES V, pl. 18 and 55 and Adam, R. *Recherches sur les Miroirs Prénestines*, Paris (1980) cat. nos. 12, 18 and 31.

[6] Matthies, G. *Die Praenestinischen Spiegel*. Strassburg (1912) p. 9.

[7] Caruso, I. Bronzetti di produzione magnogreca dal VI al IV sec.a.C.: la classe degli specchi. RM 88, (1981) fac. 1, pp. 13–141, Taf. 16:3.

[8] Wiman, I. A Praenestine Mirror in the Medelhavsmuseet. *MedelhavsMusB* 17, (1982) pp. 37–41.

[9] De Grummond, N. T. (Ed.) *A Guide to Etruscan Mirrors*, p. 94.

[10] De Puma, R. D., Greek Myths on Three Etruscan Mirrors in Cleveland. *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, September (1983), pp. 290–302.

[11] De Puma, R. D., ibid., p. 296.

[12] Compare the "everyday-life" scene engraved on the mirror Acc 723, Wiman I. supra note 8.

[13] Matthies, G. *Die Praenestinischen Spiegel*, p. 2 and Dohrn, T. *Die Ficoronische Ciste*, Berlin (1972) pp. 49–51.

[14] Probably the mother Dindia Macolnia gave the Ficoroni cista to her daughter as a wedding gift (about the inscription see Dohrn, T. ibid., p. 26).

[15] Adam, R. *Recherches sur les Miroirs Prénestines*, pp. 47–53.

[16] Adam, R. ibid., pp. 87–90.

[17] Rebuffat-Emmanuel, D. *Le Miroir Étrusque*, d'apres la collection de Cabinet de Médailles. Collection de l'école francaise de Rome 20, (1973) p. 623.

[18] Rebuffat-Emmanuel, D. ibid., pp. 280–284.

[19] Rebuffat-Emmanuel, D. ibid., p. 623.

[20] Adam, R. *Recherches sur les Miroirs Prénestines.*, pp. 47–53.

[21] Adam, R. ibid., pp. 77–86.

[22] Adam, R. ibid., p. 77.

[23] Wiman, I. A Praenestine Mirror in the Medelhavsmuseet, p. 37.

[24] Adam, R. *Recherches sur les Miroirs Prénestines*, pp. 86 and 90.

[25] Adam, R. ibid., p. 47–53.

[26] Johansson, T. B., Ahlberg, M., Akselsson, R., Johansson,

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G. and Malmqvist, K. Analytical use of Proton-induced X-ray emission. *Journal of Radioanalytical Chemistry*, Vol. 32, (1976) p. 207.

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[28] Johansson, T. B. *et al.* Analytical use of Proton-induced X-ray emission, pp. 207–217, see supra note 26.

[29] Drillings were made by Mille Törnblom at the technical section of Riksantikvarieämbetet och Statens Historiska Museer in Stockholm.

[30] The drilling of this mirror was made by conservator Martin Andrén at the Kulturhistoriska Museet in Lund.

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[32] Craddock, P. T., Report on the Composition of 19 Etruscan Bronze Mirrors from Danish Museums., in Salskov Roberts, H., *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum*, Denmark 1 (1981) pp. 131–132.

[33] Lambrechts, R., *Les Miroirs Étrusques et Prénestines de Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Historie à Bruxelles.* Bruxelles (1978).

[34] Maes, L., and Genin, G., Examens de Laboratoire in Lambrechts, R., ibid., pp. 373–377.

[35] Maes, L., and Genin, G., ibid., p. 375.

[36] Craddock, P. T., The Composition of the Bronze Alloys used by the Greek, Etruscan and Roman Civilizations. The Greeks before the Archaic Period. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 3 (1976) pp. 93–113.

[37] Lambrechts, R., *Les Miroirs Étrusques.*, pp. 373–377.

[38] Craddock, P. T., The Composition of the Bronze Alloys., p. 132.

[39] Panseri, C., and Leoni, M., The manufacturing technique of Etruscan mirrors. *Studies in Conservation* III:1, (1957) pp. 49–62.

[40] Adam, R., *Recherches sur les Miroirs Prénestines*, p. 68.

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The Etruscological Collections of Olof August Danielsson

Örjan Wikander

This volume of the Medelhavsmuseet *Bulletin* is being published on an important but remarkably overlooked centenary. In November 1885, the first serious preparations for the *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum* (CIE) – the basis of all modern studies of the Etruscan language – were initiated.

Ten years before, Wilhelm Deecke had not only rejected Wilhelm Corssen's endeavours to include Etruscan among the Indo-European languages but had generally thrown the efforts of earlier research to find a short cut to its decipherment by comparisons with other, known languages into disrepute among serious scholars.[1] The only way left was the patient and not very glamorous one which in our own century has led to slow but reliable advances: the persistent study of the Etruscan texts as such, investigating by an internal analysis the actual structure of the language. The prerequisite of such an approach was, of course, a correct and absolutely trustworthy edition of the epigraphical material, and such an edition did not yet exist.

Important, preliminary steps had been taken during the period 1867–1880 by the publication of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Italicarum* (CII), which included the largest known collection of Etruscan inscriptions.[2] It was, however, obvious from the very beginning that, at a number of points, this work could not meet the demands which were then being made on such a publication. In the early 1880's, inspired by Deecke and Mommsen, Karl Pauli began contemplating an edition of Etruscan inscriptions on principles similar to those of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.[3] Financial and other practical difficulties proved almost unsurmountable. To these were added problems of a scholarly nature, and Pauli soon realized that he could not manage by himself a project of that magnitude. As his assistant, he chose Olof August Danielsson.

Danielsson's speciality was in Greek and he was later, for several years, professor of that language at Uppsala (1891–1917).[4] However, his linguistic scholarship had a far wider range. His dissertation (1879) was concerned with Latin philology, and later on he treated problems in a great number of languages: Sanskrit, Lydian, Lycian, Oscan, Umbrian, Venetic and Lepontian. In 1877–1878 and 1881–1882, he visited Germany, among other things, to study under Karl Brugmann, and there he met Pauli – an acquaintance which developed into a lifelong friendship. In 1883 and 1884, he published a number of important articles in Pauli's *Altitalische Studien*, and it was no surprise that Pauli should choose him as a colleague in the main achievement of his life.

Ariodante Fabretti, the editor of the CII, had studied personally parts of the inscriptions he published but had also uncritically taken over large parts from earlier editors – in some cases with disastrous results.[5] Pauli and Danielsson realized from the very beginning that their ambitions could not be fulfilled unless they themselves examined every Etruscan inscription that could still be traced. When they had raised the necessary funds, they departed in November 1885 for Italy to start their work. Together they visited Verona, Padova, Este, Bologna, Florence, Chiusi, Orvieto, Rome and Corneto (Tarquinia). At that point, Pauli had to break off the journey, while Danielsson proceeded alone to Naples, Palermo, Chiusi, Corneto, Orvieto, Viterbo, Perugia and Cortona. For him, the journey lasted until July, 1886.

A large material had been collected, and the collections were completed during further journeys: Pauli visited Italy in 1889, 1896 and 1898, Danielsson in 1890. During all their journeys, they kept detailed notes, copying, when possible, every inscription they found,

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mostly using paper squeezes, but, wherever necessary, using a number of other techniques as well.[6] These notes and copies were to constitute the real basis of the CIE entries.[7]

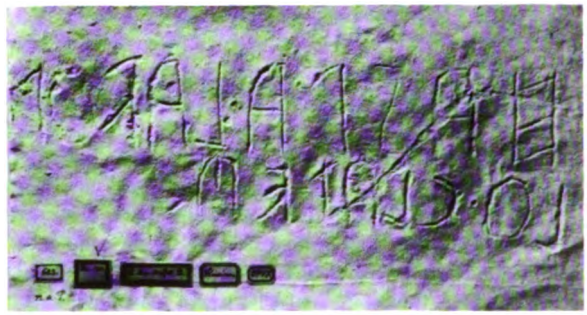
After Pauli's premature death in August 1901, the responsibility for the Corpus came to rest upon Danielsson. In February the next year, he went to Munich to see that the almost completed tenth fascicle was handed over to the press, thereby completing the first volume.[8] During those months at the University Library in Munich, he collaborated for the first time with Gustav Herbig, who soon became his close friend and was to share, together with Bartolomeo Nogara, his responsibility for the continuation of the Corpus.[9]

In the autumn of 1902 and in 1908, Danielsson resumed his work in Italy. In 1909, he studied Etruscan inscriptions in Paris and London, and he returned to Italy in 1912, 1923 and 1928. The World War retarded the publication considerably, but a number of fascicles did appear, and there must have seemed to be good hope of completing the Corpus within the foreseeable future, when the project received an unexpected blow. In 1925, Herbig died only fifty-seven years old. He was replaced by Ernst Sittig, who after Danielsson's own death in 1933 completed the final editing of the last fascicle prepared by him (1936). After that, the work on the Corpus ceased and was renewed only recently.[10]

Between the early editors of the CIE – Pauli, Danielsson, Herbig, Nogara and Sittig – and those active today, there is no continuity. The bulk of the material collected by Pauli and his successors, including not only the results of their own efforts but also various earlier documents, ended up, together with Danielsson's other scholarly papers, in the University Library at Uppsala, where it was to remain, unsorted, until recently.

In 1981, Danielsson's collection of squeezes was deposited at the Medelhavsmuseet. Since then, I have spent some time making an inventory of that material and have also made a preliminary examination of the Danielsson papers at Uppsala, in order to separate out those related to Etruscology. These will presumably also be deposited at the Museum, to create, together with the squeezes, a collection for studies of the Etruscan language. The Etruscological material consists mainly of the following:

1. Earlier collections of Etruscan inscriptions
   (*a*) "Schedae Kellermann". A large collection of transcriptions made by the Danish scholar Olaus Kellermann in the 1830's.[11]



Squeeze no. 623, made by Pa[uli] at the Florence Museum, November 23, 1885. CII [Fa] 170 = CIE 2947. From Clusium

   (*b*) Various other transcriptions and drawn copies from the early eighteenth century.
   (*c*) "Corsseniana". Transcriptions, drawn copies, squeezes and notes made by Wilhelm Corssen and later presented to the Berlin Academy.
2. Travel journals, etc.
   (*a*) Twenty-three numbered journals, with a handwritten list of contents.[12] Of these, books II–XII derive from the journey in 1885–1886 (one written by Pauli and Danielsson together, the rest by Danielsson alone), XIII–XIV from 1889 (one by Pauli, one by his son), XV–XVII from 1890 (by Danielsson), XIX–XXII from 1896 (two by Pauli, two by his daughter), and XXIII from 1898 (by Pauli). Besides various sections in Latin or Italian, Pauli's journals are written in German, those of Danielsson in German or Swedish.
   (*b*) One journal from 1890, marked XXIV but not mentioned in the list.
   (*c*) Six journals and notebooks from Danielsson's Italian journey of 1902.
   (*d*) Four "Fragehefte" from 1903.
   (*e*) One journal from Danielsson's Italian journeys of 1908 and 1912.
   (*f*) One journal from Danielsson's visits to Paris and London in 1909.
   (*g*) A number of "Originalprotokolle von Corneto".
3. Other papers left by Pauli
   (*a*) A concordance between inscription numbers in the CIE and those used by Fabretti and other editors.
   (*b*) A number of notes on various Etruscan inscriptions.
   (*c*) A manuscript concerning Tomba Golini I–II.

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4. Copies of Etruscan inscriptions
   (*a*) A very large collection of *paper squeezes* (mentioned as "ectypa chartacea" in the CIE) and a considerable number of *drawings on transparent paper* ("delineationes charta lucida confectae" in the CIE), kept in sixteen large, specially-made, wooden boxes and mostly in remarkably good condition. Most of them were made by Pauli and Danielsson, some portions by Herbig, and large parts of the Orvieto material by Mancini. Moreover, there are squeezes sent by scholars and museums from all over the world. Seven boxes contain inscriptions belonging to the first volume of the CIE, fairly well arranged in numerical order. There are more than 4000 copies, representing about 3000 of the 4917 inscriptions in the volume. They are provided with labels giving the site and date of manufacture, number in earlier editions, if any, and the number in the Corpus.
   The remaining inscriptions are arranged, in some cases according to site, in others according to the journeys on which they were made, in yet others without any comprehensible system, and it will require much work to put them in order. Those having CIE numbers up to *c.* 5200 are marked with such numbers, the rest with references to earlier publications or just with site and date. For the time being, it cannot be determined how many of them have now been published in the Corpus.
   (*b*) A small collection of *tinfoil squeezes* ("ectypa stannea" in the CIE), apparently in inferior condition.
   (*c*) A small number of *plaster casts* ("ectypa gypsea" in the CIE).
   (*d*) A large collection of *photographs*, presumably of little scholarly interest.
5. Miscellanea
   (*a*) Forty-seven small, cardboard boxes containing concordances and "lexica".
   (*b*) About sixty notebooks and large amounts of papers with notes concerning Etruscan inscriptions, for instance, excerpts from scholarly journals and other preparatory studies for the CIE.
6. Manuscripts and proofs of the CIE and other Etruscological writings by Danielsson. Among these are several manuscripts of unpublished lectures.
7. Letters
   (*a*) A great number of letters addressed to Danielsson have long been preserved in the collections of the University Library at Uppsala, and they are all to remain there. Among these are to be found, for instance, hundreds of letters from Pauli, Herbig, Nogara and other Etruscologists.
   (*b*) During my examination of Danielsson's papers, I came across additional letters in large numbers, which will be placed among the others. These include a collection of drafts of letters written by Danielsson himself and a number of letters addressed to Pauli from other scholars.

This survey is, of course, of a preliminary nature, and much work remains to be done before it can be established which parts of the material are relevant to other scholars than those interested in the history of learning. The collection of squeezes is presumably unique of its kind; it undoubtedly includes several inscriptions now damaged or completely lost. Moreover, Pauli's and Danielsson's detailed travel journals must contain important information also concerning inscriptions still awaiting final publication. It is my hope that the entire collection may soon be assembled in the Medelhavsmuseet and that the necessary conditions may be created for its final arrangement, so that the material will be accessible to scholars again.

Squeeze no. 1678, made by Da[nielsson] at the Chiusi Museum, April 27, 1886. CII [Fa] I 213 = CIE 2958. From Clusium

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I would like to acknowledge my debts to the following persons: Margareta Lindgren, of the University Library at Uppsala, who first contacted me concerning the possible deposition of Danielsson's squeezes in the Medelhavsmuseet; Kjell Andersson, of Göteborg, and Marie-Louise Winbladh, Curator of the Museum's Greek and Roman Department, who helped me to make an inventory of the squeezes; and Carl-Otto von Sydow, head of the Manuscript Department of the University Library at Uppsala, who offered me all kinds of help during my work there.

[1] W. Deecke, *Corssen und die Sprache der Etrusker. Eine Kritik*, Stuttgart 1875.

[2] Published by A. Fabretti 1867, with three *Supplementi* by the same editor in 1872, 1874 and 1878, and an *Appendice* by G. F. Gamurrini in 1880.

[3] The background was described by Pauli himself in his *Praefatio* to the first volume of the CIE (1901), p. III, and by G. Herbig in his obituary of Pauli, in *Biographisches Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde* 29, 1906, particularly pp. 66–70. Cf. also G. Buonamici, *Epigrafia etrusca* (Firenze 1932), pp. 48–49.

[4] Shorter biographies of Danielsson have been written by E. Nachmanson, in *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, Vol. 10 (1931), pp. 238–244 (including bibliography up to 1929), by B. Nogara, in *Studi Etruschi* 8, 1934, pp. 475–478, and by E. Löfstedt, in *Kungl. Svenska Vetenskapsakademiens Årsbok* 33, 1935, pp. 287–299. On his achievements as a professor of Greek, cf. also J. Palm, "Griechisch", in *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis – Uppsala University 500 years*, fasc. 6 (Uppsala 1976), p. 41.

[5] Cf. Pauli (*supra* n. 3), p. III: "Nam cum Fabrettius, quaecunque ipse vidit atque de lapide descripsit, plerumque ectypo chartaceo adiutus, ita sumpserit, ut nisi minutis quibusdam in rebus non erraverit, in magna inscriptionum parte hominum fide minus dignorum auctoritatem sequitur. Velut in inscriptionum, quae e museo Casucciniano, quod Clusii olim erat, Panormum translatae sunt, exemplis non raro mira et prorsus absurda occurrunt."

[6] Described by Pauli, in his *Prooemium* to the first fascicle of CIE, Vol. I (1893), p. 3.

[7] Cf. Pauli (*supra* n. 3), p. IV: "Neque tamen satis habuit [Danielssonius] omnia, quaecunque adiri poterant, sollertissime descripsisse et expressisse, sed etiam libellos confecit, unde quo quidque loco quoque habitu inventum esset luculentissime perspiceretur. Qui libelli quanto usui mihi fuerint, vix dicere possum." See also Herbig (*supra* n. 3), pp. 70–71.

[8] On these circumstances, see Danielsson's *Praefatio* to CIE, Vol. I (1902), pp. VIII–IX. Pauli expressed his boundless confidence in his colleague in his preface (p. VII), which is almost his scholarly will and testament: "An ego et quo tempore opus perfecturus sim, id propter infirmam valetudinem incertum est. Verum etiam si, antequam labore perfunctus sim, mors opus inceptum ex fessis manibus ademerit, iam provisum est, ne intermittatur. Amicissimus Danielssonius redemptori ex pacto et convento fidem suam obligavit, ut, si quid mihi acciderit, ipse rem persequendam suscepturus sit. Atque in aptiores manus transire nequiverit. Non solum ab initio vir optimus in Corpore conscribendo operam suam viribus meis studiisque adiunxit atque omnium rerum, quae in cogitationem cadunt, plenissima cognitione imbutus est, verum etiam magna eius cura et diligentia ab ullo alio vix superari potest."

[9] See Danielsson's own account of this meeting in his obituary of Herbig, in *Gnomon* 2, 1926, p. 622.

[10] See "Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum. Pubblicazione del Fascicolo II, Sect. I 4, e programma del lavoro futuro", *Studi Etruschi* 39, 1971, pp. 472–474.

[11] O. Ch. Kellermann (1805–1837) was employed in the 1830's at the German Archaeological Institute in Rome and published in 1833 a number of Etruscan inscriptions in its *Bullettino*.

[12] Almost certainly identical with the one written by Danielsson and Herbig after Pauli's death; see Danielsson (*supra* n. 9), p. 622.

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Traditioneller Silberschmuck des 20. Jahrhunderts aus Ägypten und Nubien

Beate George

Die ägyptische Abteilung des Medelhavsmuseet besitzt eine kleine Sammlung von Silberschmuck wie Armringe, Amulette, Fingerring, Ohrringe, Stirnschmuck, die aus Ägypten bzw. Nubien stammen und alle diesem Jahrhundert angehören dürften. Obwohl nur wenig Literatur zu diesem Thema bisher erschienen ist, sollen diese Stücke im folgenden hier präsentiert werden, wenn auch nicht alle Fragen erschöpfend behandelt werden können.

Leider ist es mir unmöglich gewesen, ein Werk über ägyptische Silberstempel oder Silberschmiedsignaturen zu konsultieren (Ali Zayn al-Abidin, Al-Masagh al-Shabi fi Misr, Kairo 1974 ist mir nicht zugänglich). Nach Schienerl (in: R. Bachinger–P. W. Schienerl, Silberschmuck aus Ägypten, Frankfurt 1984, 12) sind die Punzen dreiteilig: 1. Silbergehalt und Ortszeichen auf arabisch, 2. eine Katze von 1916 bis 1946 bzw. ein Lotus seit 1946, 3. ein grosser lateinischer Buchstabe von 1916 bis 1946 bzw. seit 1946 ein arabischer Buchstabe für das Jahr der Punzierung. Demzufolge sind das Zar-Amulett und das Schläfenplättchen (s. unten Nr. 4 und 5) vor 1946 hergestellt und haben einen Silbergehalt von 60%. Der Armring Nr. 8 ist nach 1946 angefertigt und hat einen achtzigprozentigen Silbergehalt. Bei dem Armring Nr. 6 kommen vier verschiedene Marken vor, von denen drei nicht ägyptisch zu sein scheinen. Alle übrigen Stücke weisen keinerlei Stempel auf.

1. Silberring mit Karneol, MME 1985:4.

Erwerbsort: unbekannt.
Masse: Durchmesser 1,8 cm; Dicke des Reifens 2 mm.
Gewicht: 6 g.
Stempel: keine.
Parallelen: keine.

Der Ring besteht aus einem kräftigen Reifen, der sich in der oberen, auf dem Finger sichtbaren Hälfte teilt, um die filigranverzierte Kastenfassung eines ovalen Karneols zu halten. Auf der Aussenseite ist der Reif, wo er sich teilt, rechts und links vom Stein mit je einem rhombenförmigen Silberblech überdeckt. An drei Ecken dieser Rhomben sind Silberkügelchen eingefügt, von denen eins weggebrochen ist. Die Kastenfassung ist über die Kanten des etwas unregelmässigen Steines zusammengebogen, um ihn an seinem Platz festzuhalten. Sie ist mit drei Reihen von Filigrandraht umwunden.

Traditionell sah man einen Zusammenhang zwischen Karneol und Blut aufgrund der beiden gemeinsamen roten Farbe. Man erhofft von dem Stein vor allem eine blutstillende, darüber hinaus aber auch ganz allgemein beruhigende Wirkung. Er wird ausserdem auch gegen das böse Auge getragen.

Literatur: E. A. Wallis Budge, Amulets and Superstitions, London 1930, 310; R. Kriss – H. Kriss-Heinrich, Volksglaube im Bereich des Islam II: Amulette, Zauberformeln und Beschwörungen, Wiesbaden 1962, 39, 40.

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2. Rundes Silberamulett mit Inschrift, MME 1985:5.

Erwerbsort: unbekannt.
Masse: Durchmesser 8,2 cm; Dicke 1 mm.
Gewicht: 47 g.
Stempel: keine.
Parallelen: Budge, Amulets, Pl. VIII 5 und 6 (bei S. 74); R. Bachinger – P. W. Schienerl, Silberschmuck aus Ägypten, Frankfurt 1984, Abb. 69 rechts und links.

Das Schmuckstück besteht aus einer dünnen Scheibe, die an einem durchbohrten Polyeder mittels einer Kette oder eines Bandes als Halsschmuck getragen werden konnte. Die Rückseite ist unverziert. Die Vorderseite trägt als Dekor einen Kreis in der Mitte, in dessen Zentrum sechs einander überschneidende Kreise zusammenstossen, die ihrerseits alle in den grossen äusseren, mit einer Doppellinie gravierten Kreis eingeschlossen sind. Die beiden konzentrischen Kreise sind ausserdem von einem Band mit ziseliertem Muster umgeben. Der innere Kreis trägt in einem Sechseck mit konkaven Seiten ein sechsteiliges blütenförmiges Ornament, das möglicherweise ein Sonnensymbol darstellt (cf. Bachinger-Schienerl. op.cit.). Die Zwischenräume zwischen den „Blütenblättern" tragen einen ziselierten Dekor aus kleinen Kreisen. Dasselbe Muster ist auch in die äusseren Sektoren der sechs sich überschneidenden Kreise eingefügt, die ausserdem eine gravierte arabische Inschrift tragen. Nach Bachinger-Schienerl handelt es sich um die sog. „Verse des Schutzes" aus dem Koran, während Budge (op.cit.) von „... prayers for the well-being of their wearers, who were women about to become mothers" spricht. Seine Beispiele stammen aus dem Sudan. Auch die von Bachinger – Schienerl sind dort erworben, kamen jedoch ursprünglich aus Nubien und waren nach der Überflutung in der ersten Hälfte der 70-er Jahre nach Khartum gelangt.

3. Silberner Stirnschmuck, MME 1985:6.

Erwerbsort: Luxor.
Masse: Länge ca 29 cm; Dicke der Plättchen 1/2 mm, der verzierten Schläfenplättchen 1 mm.
Gewicht: 58 g.
Stempel: keine.
Parallelen: keine.

Dieser Stirnschmuck besteht aus zwei sog. Schläfenplättchen (s.u. Nr. 5) an den Seiten und einer halbmondförmigen Scheibe mit drei dreieckigen Anhängern in der Mitte. Mittel- und Seitenteile sind durch zwei kettenartige Gebilde mit einander verbunden, die aus je drei achteckigen Plättchen bestehen. Zwischen diesen Plättchen und an ihnen sind Ringe mit dreieckigen Anhängern angelötet, entsprechend wie an dem Halbmond in der Mitte. Die Schläfenplättchen bestehen aus rechteckigen Silberblechen (4,7 × 1,7 cm), die auf der Aussenseite mit Filigrandraht in parallelen Bändern und Spiralen verziert sind. Auf dieses Filigranmuster sind ausserdem noch vierzehn rhombenförmige kleine Silberplättchen aufgesetzt sowie drei kleine runde Fassungen für Steine oder Glasperlen, die z.T. beschädigt sind. Ein grünlicher Türkis ist aussen auf der rechten Platte noch erhalten, auf der linken ein dunkler Stein in

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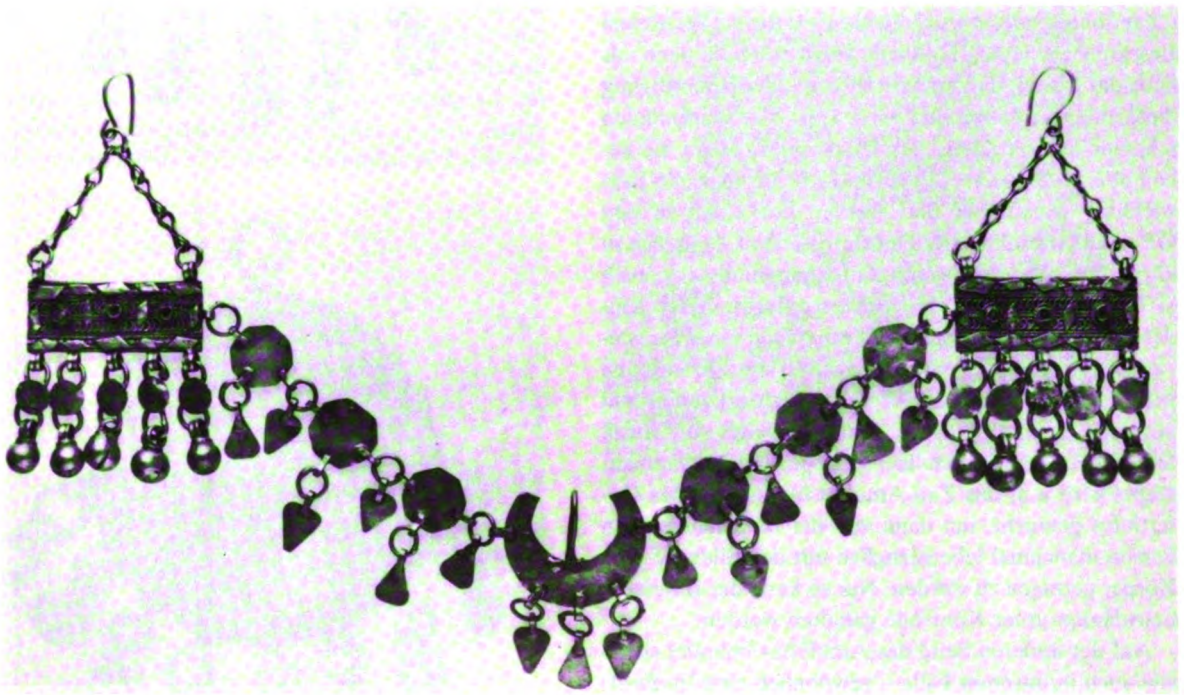
der Mitte und eine durchbohrte türkise Glasperle aussen. Die übrigen Fassungen enthalten nur noch unbestimmbare Reste. Der Türkis ist als gesundheitsfördernder und übelabwehrender Stein sehr beliebt (Budge, op.cit. 325). An den Schläfenplättchen sind unten fünf Ösen angelötet, an denen S – förmige Silberdrähte hängen mit einer aufgelöteten kleinen runden Scheibe an der Vorderseite. An diesen Drähten sind mit Hilfe von Ösen aus zwei Hälften zusammengesetzte Silberkügelchen angebracht, die, wenn bewegt, helle klingelnde Töne erzeugen. Die Schläfenplättchen sind an aus doppelten Drähten hergestellten kurzen Ketten befestigt, die aus 8-förmigen Gliedern bestehen und mit einem Haken versehen sind. Ein solcher Haken ist auch an dem Halbmond in der Mitte angelötet, und alle drei dienen dazu, den Schmuck auf dem Kopfe – wohl an einem Tuch – zu befestigen.



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4. Rundes Silberamulett mit Inschrift bzw. Zar, MME 1985:7.

Erwerbsort: Kairo.
Masse: Durchmesser 5,2 cm; Dicke 0,75 mm.
Gewicht: 20 g.
Stempel:

Parallelen: Kriss & Kriss-Heinrich, op.cit., 64 und Abb. 71,4; Bachinger-Schienerl, op.cit., 10 f und Abb. 52–64.

Diese primitiv gravierte Silberscheibe trägt neun Glöckchen desselben Typs wie der Stirnschmuck (s.o. Nr. 3) und ausserdem eine angelötete Öse mit einem Ring, um sie um den Hals tragen zu können. Beide Seiten des Amulettes tragen eine Zickzacklinie innerhalb einer Kreislinie als Randdekor. Das eingravierte Bild auf der einen Seite stellt einen türkischen Offizier dar, der den Zar- Dämonen Yawri Bey repräsentiert. „Zar" bezeichnet sowohl die Geister, die bei Menschen Besessenheit und Krankheit hervorrufen können als auch das Ritual, das zur Vertreibung oder Besänftigung dieser Geister ausgeführt wird. Derartige Zeremonien scheinen innerafrikanischen Ursprunges zu sein, sie haben aber in Ägypten seit etwa 1870 eine spezielle Entwicklung genommen und werden vor allem in den Grosstädten praktiziert. Die Besessenheit kann sich in körperlichen oder geistigen Krankheiten äussern, auch in Fehlgeburten oder der Geburt missgestalteter Kinder. In den hauptsächlich für Frauen von einer Priesterin und ihren Mithelfern ausgeführten Zeremonien wird versucht, zunächst den Dämon zu erkennen und ihn dann durch ekstatische Tänze, begleitet von Musik und Gesang, und durch Tieropfer günstig zu stimmen. Dabei wird u.a. das Zar–Amulett in das Blut des Opfertieres getaucht, um dann von der zu behandelnden Person manchmal lebenslänglich mit der Bildseite zum Körper getragen zu werden. Nur so kann der Besessenheitsdämon unter Kontrolle gehalten werden.

Auf der anderen Seite des Amulettes befindet sich – wie auch in unserem Falle – gewöhnlich eine Inschrift, die die heilende Wirkung noch unterstützen soll. Es handelt sich um den Beginn der Suren und des Thronverses (Sure 2, Vers 256): „Im Namen Gottes, des Erbarmers, des Barmherzigen, Allah. Es gibt keinen Gott ausser ihm, dem Lebendigen und Ewigen." Auch dem Klingeln der Glöckchen schreibt man eine Schutzfunktion zu.
Literatur: sehr ausführlich zum Zar: Kriss & Kriss-Heinrich, op.cit., 140 ff.

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5. Silbernes Schläfenplättchen, MME 1985:8.

Erwerbsort: Kairo.
Masse: 4 × 2 cm (Plättchen); Gesamthöhe mit Kette und Haken 9 cm; Dicke des Plättchens 1 mm.
Gewicht: 16 g.
Stempel:

Parallelen: Kriss & Kriss-Heinrich, op.cit., 64 und Abb. 72,7; Bachinger – Schienerl, op.cit., 88 und Abb. 66.

Das Plättchen besteht aus einem dünnen rechteckigen Silberblech mit wellenförmigen Kanten. Das durchbrochene Muster stellt den Schriftzug „Allah" dar. Nach dem Aussehen der kurzen Kette zu urteilen, ist dieses Amulett an der rechten Seite des Gesichtes zu tragen, so dass die Inschrift von einem Gegenüber richtig von rechts nach links gelesen werden kann. Das Plättchen ist mit fünf Glöckchen desselben Typs wie Nr. 3 und 4 versehen. Die Kette besteht aus sieben Ringen, die durch sechs dreifache, 8-förmig gebogene Silberdrähte verbunden sind. An der Vorderseite sind diese 8-förmigen Drähte durch kleine runde Metallscheiben überdeckt. Im mittleren Kettenring ist ein Haken angebracht, um das Schläfenplättchen am Kopfe befestigen zu können. Es kann ebenfalls als Zar-Amulett dienen.

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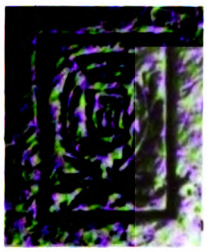
6. Silberner Armring, MME 1985:9.

Erwerbsort: Kairo.
Masse: Höhe 5,6 cm; Durchmesser 6,2–6,6 cm; Dicke des Silberblechs 1,25 mm.
Gewicht: 187 g.
Stempel: Fünf auf den Buckeln bzw. zwei an der Öffnung.



Innenseite: zwei bzw. einer.

Parallelen: keine.

Die auffallendste Besonderheit dieses Armringes sind die fünf massiven 1,1 cm hohen konischen Buckel auf runder Platte, die in gleichmässigem Abstand auf der Längsachse des zum Ring gebogenen Metallstreifens angebracht sind. An der Innenseite sind sie festgenietet. Zwischen den Buckeln sind vier symmetrisch angeordnete achteckige Bildfelder eingefügt innerhalb einer stilisierten Blätterranke als oberem und unterem Abschluss. Der Dekor in den Achtecken besteht aus 1. einem Vogel mit einem fächerartigen Pflanzenmotiv, 2. einer grossen Blättervolute, 3. einer entsprechenden spiegelbildlichen Volute und 4. einem ähnlichen Vogel mit Pflanzenmotiv, auch diese spiegelbildlich angebracht. Die freien Zwischenräume sind in allen vier Achtecken mit einem Punktmuster ausgefüllt. Ähnliche Vögel kommen auch sonst auf Armringen vor (f. Bachinger-Schienerl, op.cit., Abb. 18).

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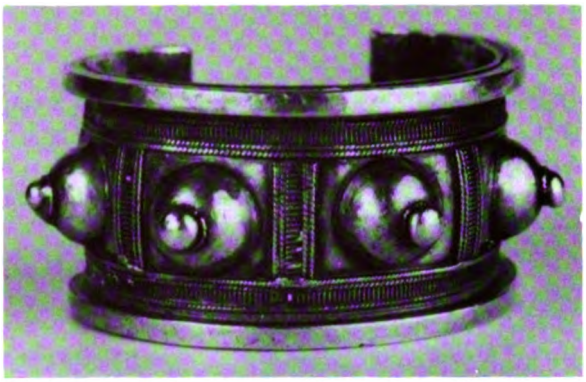
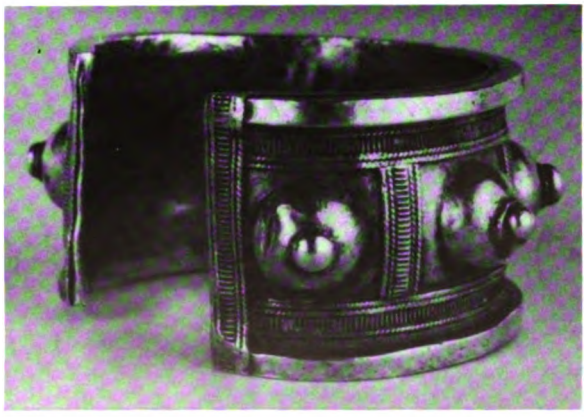


7. Silberner Armring, MME 1985:10.

Erwerbsort: Luxor.
Masse: Höhe 3,9 cm; grösster Durchmesser 5,5 cm.
Gewicht: 92 g.
Stempel: keine.
Parallelen: Bachinger – Schienerl, op.cit., Abb. 19 und 20.

Der Armring besteht aus einem rechteckigen Streifen Silberblech, auf den der Dekor der Aussenseite aufgelötet ist: an den Längskanten zwei glatte vorspringende Bänder von 3,5 mm Breite und 4,5 mm Höhe, innerhalb von diesen und an den Enden rechts und links von der Öffnung ein Gitter von getriebenen Silberblechstreifen, schliesslich in den freien Feldern innerhalb des Gitters sechs halbkugelförmige Aufsätze mit Filigrandrahtverzierung. Dieser Typ von Armschmuck ist wohlbekannt aus Nubien. Er soll nur von verheirateten Frauen getragen werden; die halbkugelförmigen Aufsätze sollen angeblich menschliche Brüste darstellen und auf dem Wege sympathetischer Magie Milch für Säuglinge garantieren. (cf. Bachinger-Schienerl, op. cit., 41).



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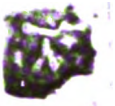
8. Silberner Armring, MME 1985:11.

Erwerbsort: Assuan.
Masse: Höhe 5,7–9,35 cm; Durchmesser 6,3–6,5 cm; Dicke 1,3 mm.
Gewicht: 245 g.
Stempel: Vier auf den Buckeln bzw. vier auf deren Seiten.



Eine Punze an der Innenseite.

Vier Marken an der Innenseite.

Zwei Marken an der Innenseite.

Parallelen: der Typ des zur Öffnung hin sich erweiternden Armringes ist in Nordafrika sehr häufig, jedoch ist mir eine im Detail exakte Parallele nicht bekannt (cf. Bachinger-Schienerl, op.cit., Abb. 11).

Sehr markant sind bei diesem Armring die vier schweren massiven Buckel quadratischer Form (1,6 × 1,6 cm, Höhe 0,9 cm), die an der Innenseite festgenietet sind. Die Aussenfläche ist in drei Felder eingeteilt: zwei trapezförmige rechts und links von der Öffnung mit einem Dekor aus Pflanzenmotiven, einem Halbmond und einer Rosette darin und, durch die Buckel und einen Rahmen bestehend aus leicht gebogenen Strichen abgetrennt, ein rechteckiges Mittelfeld. Dieses ist mit einem auf die Spitze gestellten Viereck mit konkaven Seiten verziert sowie blütenblattartigen Gebilden in den vier Ecken.

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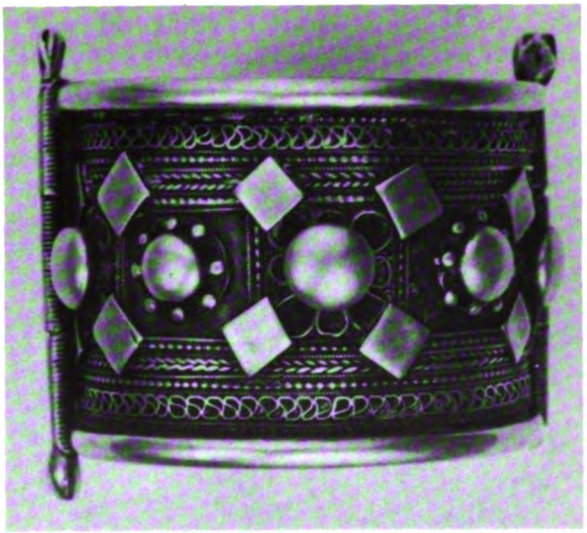

9. Silberner Armring, MME 1985:12.

Erwerbsort: Assuan.
Masse: Höhe 4,4 cm; Durchmesser 5,6 cm; Dicke ca 2 mm.
Gewicht: 124 g.
Stempel: keine.
Parallelen: Bachinger-Schienerl, op.cit., Abb. 28, 29.

Der Armring ist in zwei Hälften gearbeitet, die durch Scharniere und Stöpsel – nur einer der beiden lässt sich öffnen – zusammengehalten werden. Die zwei rechteckigen Metallstreifen sind oben und unten mit einer runden Abschlusskante versehen. An der Innenseite sind entlang der Lötungsnaht Reparaturen vorgenommen worden. Der Dekor auf der Aussenseite besteht bei jeder Armringhälfte aus Bändern von Filigran in Punkt-, Flecht- und Galeriedrahtmuster. Der Mittelstreifen auf der Längsachse ist – ebenfalls durch Filigrandrähte – in fünf Felder eingeteilt. In sie sind fünf kugelige Erhöhungen inmitten von blütenblattartigen Elementen und von vier rhombenförmigen Plättchen aus Silberblech gesetzt. Dieser Typus von Armring ist aus dem südlichen Ägypten und dem Sudan wohlbekannt.

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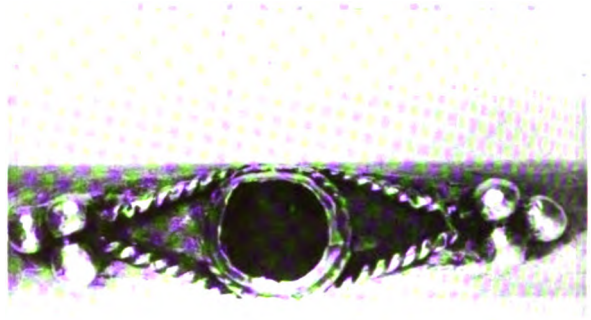
10. Ein Paar silberne Armspangen, MME 1985: 13 & 14.

Erwerbsort: Luxor.
Masse: grösster Durchmesser 5,4 cm; Dicke des Silberstabes 6–7 mm.
Gewicht: 51 bzw. 54 g.
Stempel: keine.
Parallelen: Kriss & Kriss-Heinrich, op.cit., 149 und Abb. 113,3; Bachinger-Schienerl, op.cit., Abb. 21–27, besonders 24.

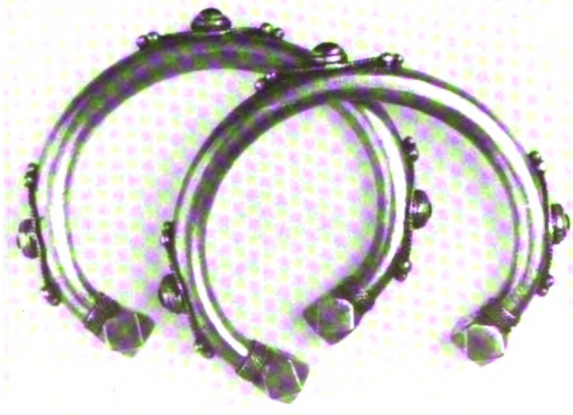
Die Spangen bestehen aus einem gebogenen Metallstab, der rechts und links von der Öffnung in Polyeder endet. Davor ist der Stab vierfach mit dünnem Filigrandraht umwickelt. Auf ihn sind an der Aussenseite drei Kastenfassungen aufgelötet. Sie sind mit doppeltem Filigrandraht umwunden und enthalten rote Glassteine. Ausserdem sind die Fassungen von rhombenförmigem Filigrandraht mit je drei Silberkügelchen an den Enden in der Längsrichtung umgeben. Beide Armspangen sind massiv, kommen aber auch hohl vor. Der Typus ist nubischen Ursprungs und existiert in zahlreichen Abwandlungen (Bachinger-Schienerl), nach Kriss & Kriss-Heinrich kommt er aber auch bei der Zar-Zeremonie zur Anwendung, für die ja spezielle Gewänder und Schmuckstücke notwendig sind.



11. Ein Paar silberne Ohrringe, MME 1985:15 & 16.

Erwerbsort: Assuan.
Masse: Durchmesser 2,1 cm; Dicke des Silberstabes 4–4,5 mm.
Gewicht: je 14 g.
Stempel: keine.
Parallelen: Bachinger-Schienerl, op.cit., Abb. 39 oben.

Dieser Typus von Ohrring ist aus Nubien bekannt. Er besteht aus einem kräftigen gebogenen Silberstab, der sich zu dem einen Ende hin nur schwach verjüngt. Das andere trägt einen Polyeder, der mit wenigen Punkten und Strichen unregelmässig verziert ist.



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Activities 1984–1985

Carl-Gustaf Styrenius

During the period from July 1st 1984 to June 30th 1985 the Museum continued its activities in the new premises for the third year. By a decision of the government in March 1984 the Museum was granted the use of these premises for a period of ten years. Therefore they can no longer be considered as provisional.

Although installed in the present building as late as three years ago, the Museum already faces a reconstruction. The reason for this is that all the buildings in the same block as well as in the adjoining blocks are government buildings. The National Board of Public Building is now planning to connect the blocks with subterranean tunnels for easy communication. These tunnels have to pass through the present store-rooms of the Museum. This building activity will take place during the period from spring 1986 to summer 1987. The Museum will have to move all the stored collections and in the meantime the access for scholars to these, including the Cyprus Collections, will be limited.

To move the stored collections once more is a hard job, but the Museum will not be without reward. As a recompensation for the inconvenience, the National Board of Public Building will construct new climatized store-rooms for the Museum in the basement. Thus for the first time the collections will be kept in the proper way. Moreover, 200 m^2 will be added to the exhibition area and an interior lift will be installed.

The Egyptian Department has enriched its collections with a number of objects, which fill gaps in the chronological sequence of the periods of Egyptian art and culture. Some important acquisitions were from the Graeco-Roman period: A terracotta figurine of Harpocrates on horseback, a marble head of Serapis and the leg of a piece of furniture in the form of a Silenus, an interesting example of bronze foundry. Among objects from earlier periods the following may be mentioned: A gold plaque, which can be connected with the tomb of the pharaoh Shabaka from the 25th dynasty, a sacred cobra sculptured in wood and a coffin for a fish mummy. Among objects connected with everyday life there are a wooden toy animal, a razor, a bronze vessel and various amulets. From Islamic Egypt come around twenty fragments of pottery from Fustat, an addition to the already large collection of the Museum. Of special interest is a collection of more than 100 objects, amulets, jewels and various small objects, which were assembled during the First World War by a member of the British armed forces and then mounted as a miniature museum. Among the amulets there are several rare types.

From the Society of Friends of the Museum, the Graeco-Roman Department has received a handsome golden ear-ring, finishing in a head of Eros, an Iron Age transport amphora from Israel and a large Roman glass jug in blown glass, probably from Syria. Among other acquisitions the following may be mentioned: A collection of minor Roman objects found in England, two Hellenistic oil lamps, two small ancient vases and two terracotta figurines from Sicily.

The exhibition activity continued. The exhibition "Horus – An Egyptian God", open April 2nd – August 26th 1984, was succeeded by the photo exhibition "The Pyramids at Gizeh and Sakkara", September 4th – 30 th, shown on the occasion of the publication of a book on the Egyptian pyramids by Dr Beate George and Dr Bengt Peterson.

During the period October 10th 1984 to March 27th 1985 the exhibition "A Greek Tomb-stone. – On the Burial Customs in classical Athens" was shown. Here a minor sepulchral environment with greenery was arranged with the Attic 4th century B.C. grave stele, acquired last year in the middle and gravevases around.

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An Albanian photo exhibition, "Butrintum – A Ruined City in Albania" was shown November 21st 1984 to January 6th 1985. From April 2nd to April 25th 1985 sketches and water-colours by the artist Bertil Kumlien were displayed in the exhibition "Archipelagos – Motives from the Greek Sea".

Within the major Islamic exhibition programme in Stockholm from May 1985 onwards the Museum is taking part in the main exhibition "Islam – Art and Culture" in the Museum of National Antiquities (Historiska Museet). It has also its own exhibition, which was inaugurated on May 14th by the Egyptian ambassador. It is entitled "Sherds of Paradise – Pottery from the rubbish-heaps of Cairo". The exhibition shows for the first time a big selection of the thousands of pottery fragments from Fustat in the stored collections, giving a rich cross-section of Islamic pottery production during the period 1000–1500 A.D.

Detail from the exhibition A Greek Tomb-stone

The exhibition "One Thousand Years of Greek Pottery" in the spring 1985 was shown in the Museum of Åland, the Finnish island between Sweden and Finland.

The excavation projects at Asine in the Argolid and at Chania in Crete were as usual administered by the Museum. The volume on the Late Mycenaean and Submycenaean material from Asine by Dr Barbro Frizell is now ready for publication. At Chania, where in 1969 the present author started the excavations in collaboration with Dr Yannis Tzedakis, now Director General of the Greek Archaeological Service, the last excavation campaign took place during the summer 1984 with Dr Erik Hallager as field director. Work on the material is being carried out in the summer 1985.

As regards Carthage, where excavations were carried out 1979–1980 and where in 1983 the crypt, covering the excavated Late Roman bath, was inaugurated as a subterranean museum, the architects have been working on their figures and measurements in order to improve our knowledge of the town plan of the ancient city. At the Carthage congress in Trois-Rivière in Canada in October 1984 the Museum was represented by the field director of the excavations, Mrs Birgitta Sander, who also had put together a photo exhibition on the Swedish excavations for this occasion.

During the year, Dr Pontus Hellström has continued his work on the finds from the excavations of the Museum at Paradeisos in Northern Greece as a preparation for the final publication. With a grant from the Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities, Dr Hellström has also continued the study of the architectural remains from the Swedish excavations at Labraunda in Caria 1948–1953.

For a new fascicle of Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, the collections of black-figured and red-figured vases have been studied during the year.

Dr Bengt Peterson took part in a UNESCO-meeting in Paris in March 1985 on the building of new museums in Egypt. Together with Dr Beate George he has collaborated with the winning architect in the competition for a new National Museum in Cairo.

During the year, Bulletin 19, 1984, was published. It contained scientific articles on objects in the collections of the Museum. In the new series in Swedish, started last year, four more titles have appeared: 3. Beate George and Bengt Peterson, *The Pyramids of Egypt. History, Excavations, Discoveries.* 4. Beate George, The *Egyptian Exhibition. A guide.* 5. Eva Rystedt. *Greek Pottery.* 6. Bengt Peterson, *Sherds of Paradise. Pottery from the Rubbish-heaps of Cairo.*

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ISSN 0585-3214

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